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PART of Mr. Harding's popularity has been his 100 per cent Main Street optimism. Imagine then our shock to read his declaration at the Army War College that it is "perfectly futile to think there never may be" a suicide of civilization. To be sure he used a shorter phrase than suicide of civilization. He said another "armed conflict." But he, like every sensible man, knows what that means in terms of scientific warfare even if the armed conflict is one which officers "can enter with all their heart and souls as Americans." In this queer world some folks think *The Nation* is pessimistic, but never in our gloomiest moments have we said anything so gloomy as this remark of our cheerful President. It is not futile to believe that we can avert the destruction of mankind in a new war. But we must face facts squarely; we must abolish, not limit, armaments; and with them must go the system of economic organization and miseducation of the crowd out of which spring both wars and armaments.

THE West Virginia miners have yielded not only to the superior force of the Federal Government but also, apparently, to some confidence in its purpose and ability to do justice. They are right in thinking that the hope of immediate justice is with the Federal Government or nowhere. The mine operators who have imposed shame and expense upon the country are unrepentant. They openly defend a policy which has made Logan County, in the words of the New York *World*, "a feudal barony defended by soldiers of fortune in the pay of the mine owners." The State Government, hopelessly incompetent in time of crisis, is promptly reverting to its role of unblushing agent of the mine owners. Governor Morgan, whose power was saved by Federal soldiers, is breathing out fire and slaughter against the dispersed marchers and is reported to be angry at the moderation of General Bandholtz, the Federal commander. Yet the only hope of an end of the West Virginia guerrilla warfare is in a policy which deals at least as sternly with armed company detectives as with armed miners. The labor leaders from President Gompers down have issued admirable statements of their case. It is to be hoped that those statements and the evidence will get full publicity before the Senate Committee whose inquiries are to be resumed September 19.

THE American press is slow to recognize how reasonable and constructive is President de Valera's latest reply to Premier Lloyd George. He points out with entire accuracy that the British offer to Ireland is not equivalent to the dominion status; he suggests reference of the questions at issue to "a neutral and impartial arbitrator"; he declares: "Force will not solve the problem and it will never secure the ultimate victory over reason and right." This is more than a matter of words; the Irish Cabinet has demonstrated its willingness to live up to its refusal to coerce Ulster by withdrawing the bellicose Colonel Duffy from that district. This is the more remarkable in view of the bloody Belfast riots in which the Orangemen gave new proof of their almost pathological political and religious bigotry. In short the Irish stand in word and deed is clearly in advance of Lloyd George's position which so far has been: Take what we offer or face renewal of war. Of the contemptible terroristic nature of British warfare in Ireland not only the Report of the American Commission, but a mass of English testimony gives abundant proof. It is unthinkable that war should be renewed when a mutual agreement on the principle of conciliation which guides Irish relations with Northeast Ulster, and a mutual agreement on a plebiscite for united Ireland, as suggested by Mr. Hollingsworth Wood, might secure peace.

FIRST, the Mexican Supreme Court as had been expected declared Article 27 not retroactive; next, the Mexican Government arrived at some sort of a *modus vivendi* with the oil barons themselves so that operations at Tampico are to be resumed. But despite some encouraging predictions by Washington correspondents, our State Department has not yet recognized President Obregon. We are reluctant to believe that Secretary Hughes will still insist on a treaty reaffirming what the Mexican Supreme Court has decided. He was a jurist before he became a diplomat and he can scarcely regard treaties as more inviolable than judicial decisions. Nor can he rightfully seek from Mexico, not a declaration of present law, but an everlasting pledge to respect the sanctity of American property. Perhaps Mexico without loss of dignity could afford to sign a treaty merely setting forth what her courts have already decided. But President Obregon thinks otherwise, and his position is far more tenable and less ridiculous than Mr. Hughes's insistence on the letter of his treaty after the substance of his desires has been achieved.

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"RUSSIAN Trade with U. S. Falls Off"—thus the headlines in our old friend the New York *Times*. But behind the *Times* is the Department of Commerce, which gives out the figures without explanation or comment. We exported 39 million dollars' worth of goods to Russia in the first six months of 1919, it seems; 23 millions in the same period of 1920; and only 13 millions this year. Imports from Russia, which amounted to $2,975,000 in the six-month period of 1919, mounted to $8,555,000 in 1920, and dropped to a bare $692,000 this year. Which might seem to have something or other to do with the "collapse" of Soviet Russia. But Mr. Hoover's publicity man, in making public the figures, neglected to mention the fact that "Russia" in these figures is merely a geographical expression. Those enormous exports were to the parts of Russia behind the armies of Kolchak and Tchaikowski in 1919, and behind Denikin and Company in 1920. Soviet Russia received nothing, or virtually nothing, and sent nothing to the United States in 1919 or 1920. Today Kolchak is dead and Denikin is in exile, and such trade as we have with Russia is with the bona-fide Government of Moscow. The figures, in other words, unless explained, are worse than meaningless.

CANADA is not even afraid of woman ministers. Mary Irene Parlby, of Alberta, has just been appointed Minister without portfolio in the provincial cabinet. Mrs. Parlby is the second woman to be given a cabinet position in Canada, the first one having been Mrs. Ralph Smith of Vancouver. To date it is not reported that the Albertan sky—or even the ministry—has fallen because of this rash step. There are in Alberta about 400,000 persons; in Vancouver something under 50,000; it does not seem altogether impossible that among the 105 millions in the United States one woman may lurk who could qualify for a position as one of our representatives at the Disarmament Conference.

REFERENCE of the Upper Silesian dispute to a subcommittee of the Council of the League of Nations, consisting of the representatives of China, Brazil, Spain, and Belgium, is a wise move, for it takes the question out of the hands of parties which had already proved themselves too much at odds to settle it. But reference to a committee is an old habit of the League, and its record in the Vilna case warrants small confidence in its handling of Upper Silesia. Newspaper dispatches announce with an air of surprised optimism that the League is about to settle the Vilna business, but the agreement as reported indicates that after a year of juggling the League is able only to give legal sanction to Zellgowski's raid of last October. If the League's prevention of war amounts simply to an indorsement of *force majeure* why bother about the League at all?

THIS is not the first time that the League has "settled" Vilna. That poor city, after suffering Polish pogroms in the spring of 1919, was taken from the Poles by the Russians, but was returned to Lithuania by the Treaty of Moscow, signed July 12, 1920. The Polish advance in August and September brought the Poles into conflict with the Lithuanians near Augustowo; a new war seemed imminent, when the League stepped in. On September 20 Poles and Lithuanians agreed to submit to League mediation. By October 7 an armistice agreement was reached and the Lithuanians surrendered control of the city to inter-Allied delegates. Then on October 9 Zellgowski, the Polish d'Annunzio, a freebooter who had fought with the French in South Russia, seized Vilna and proclaimed a Central Lithuanian Republic. The League delegates retired. The Poles disavowed Zellgowski, but when England and France urged them to put him out they only passed resolutions of sympathy and proposed a plebiscite. Desultory fighting between Poles and Lithuanians continued. General Zellgowski said that a plebiscite under inter-Allied control was impossible because the people were too illiterate, and proposed to hold an election of his own. The League again stepped in, arranged another armistice, and announced late in November that it would send 1,500 soldiers to direct the plebiscite. But in March the Council announced that it had abandoned the plebiscite as impracticable, and that it would conduct direct negotiations between Poland and Lithuania at Brussels. It did, but they reached no conclusion. Now the Council is about to settle the dispute again by nominally awarding Vilna to Lithuania, but carving Lithuania into two provinces, one of which will be under Polish control!

ERZBERGER'S assassination, the work of a rabid young reactionary, seems to have turned the tide that was flowing so strongly against the liberal forces in the young German republic. The bitter Nationalists make more noise, and are still powerful in bureaucratic circles, but the latent democratic strength has been redemonstrated as vigorously as eighteen months ago when it so quickly stifled the Kapp revolt. The mighty demonstration of 100,000 Berliners in the Lustgarten must have had a sobering effect upon ardent Nationalists who thought the country nearly ripe for a coup d'etat. We cannot sympathize with Chancellor Wirth's methods in suppressing the defiant newspapers of the Right, yet we hope that his new-found energy will put an end to the martial law in Bavaria that so long has cloaked a virtual dictatorship. If only a partisan solution of the Silesian question does not give his liberal cabinet a slap in the face!

IN its petition to Congress for a committee to investigate the American Legion with a view to repealing its charter, the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion is making an attack from a new salient. Besides condemning the character of the American Legion under present leadership the specific point is made that in spite of the charter requirement that a financial statement must be filed annually with Congress, no such report has been made since organization was authorized by Federal enactment on September 16, 1919. The petition is a good method of prodding the self-sufficiency and indifference to criticism manifested by the American Legion, although it is hardly to be expected that Congress will take the course suggested. Indeed it is doubtful if the repeal of the Legion's charter would be desirable. Public opinion must and will deal with the Legion. The duty of critics is to see that the public has the facts. If in the long run the public condones and approves the organization as it exists, then the Legion will deserve its success and the public will deserve its Legion.

IN one of those little editorials which John Wanamaker generously gives to an expectant public along with notice of the latest bargains, he says that labor now knows that it can be paid too much. Which is another way of saying what is so commonly assumed, namely, that high wages are responsible for the high cost of living. That theory comes off very badly in the elaborate and very careful analysis of wages and prices from 1890 to 1918 made by Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago

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and Frances Lamberson, published in the September issue of the *American Economic Review*. We have space only to quote the conclusion:

All the evidence seems to indicate that at the termination of the Great War the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 10 to 20 per cent less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from 7 to 17 per cent less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916. The purchasing power of the established week's work, moreover, was from 20 to 30 per cent less than in the nineties and from 10 to 20 per cent less than in 1915. American labor, as a whole, therefore, cannot legitimately be charged with having profiteered during the war. Rather, like Alice in Wonderland, it was compelled to run faster in order to stay in the same place.

THE New York Workers' College, the Rand School, according to its director Algernon Lee, will not apply for a license under the Lusk law. The school and its officials stand ready to face the consequences. They know of no other way to bring an iniquitous law before the courts and above all before the high court of public opinion. *The Nation* can only applaud this decision and bespeak for the school the support of all those whose champion it thus becomes in the important struggle against a worse than Prussian attempt to restrict freedom of teaching. The revelation Senator Lusk gave of himself by accepting the famous silver tea set ought to help the public to see how contemptible is the patriotism which conceals its narrowness of mind and elasticity of conscience behind the flag.

The streets of our cities, once reasonably secure from crimes of violence, have now become the field of operations for the footpad and highwayman. . . . Once murder was an infrequent and abnormal crime; today in our large cities it is of almost daily occurrence. . . . When the crime wave was at its height a few years ago, the police authorities in more than one city confessed their impotence to impose effective restraints. . . . As to the subtler and more insidious crimes against the political state, it is enough to say that graft has become a science in city, State, and nation. Losses by such misapplication of public funds—piled Pelion on Ossa—no longer run in the millions but the hundreds of millions. Our city governments are, in many instances, foul cancers on the body politic; and for us to boast of having solved the problem of self-government is as fatuous as for the strong man to exult in his health when his body is covered with running sores. . . .

THIS scathing indictment is taken from the recent address of Mr. James M. Beck, Solicitor General of the United States, before the American Bar Association. And if there is one obvious conclusion, it is that the domestic tasks which confront us can easily absorb all our national energies. It scarcely becomes a nation subject to such indictment by Mr. Beck to carry its "civilization" *vi et armis* to other "backward" countries, and to justify such illegal aggression by allegations of disorder and corruption.

FROM Mr. Beck's painful picture of the assaults on our laws and Constitution it is pleasing to turn to the impassioned defense thereof delivered recently in the Senate by Mr. Stanley of Kentucky (speaking on the "beer" bill):

We are here to defend the sanctity of the holiest temple ever erected by mortal man, ever conceived by human wit, or defended by mortal courage, save and except that temple whose sky-kissing spire is adorned by the cross of my crucified Redeemer. The greatest orator who ever thrilled assemblies of statesmen or who ever adorned an American forum in all the tide of time delivered his greatest utterance in the defense of the Constitution of his country; and the most eloquent expression in all the eloquence of the "old man eloquent," Daniel Webster, himself, was that aspiration, as holy as a prayer, that his dying eyes might not behold a flag dishonored or a Constitution discarded. For the honor of the Senate, for the honor of the United States itself, for the glory of that flag, never lowered in time of peril, may it never trail in time of peace, may we, as legislators, be as strong in moral courage as that flag's defenders around the world were faultless in physical valor.

Who says the old man eloquent has no successor?

THE daughter of Mr. J. B. Webb, "prominent in financial and social circles," chose to marry a groom, her sister having previously married a policeman. Great news for the American snobocracy! The newspapers sent around special reporters in battalions. Then up spoke Mr. Webb: "It's rotten, that's what I call it—rotten! To tear a person's life to shreds like this, and bring up for the public eye the affairs of one poor little girl." To which we say a hearty Amen. But more rotten than this outrageous violation of individual rights by the press is the careless or malicious zest with which certain papers, especially in the South, publish stories from depraved or irresponsible white women accusing some black man of a more or less grave offense against them. Every newspaperman knows that just such a story started the Tulsa riots, as well as those in Washington and in Omaha. Yet here we find on the front page of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* two circumstantial stories of attack by Negroes on white women. Both of them were false, as the newspaper itself admitted less conspicuously next day. This sort of thing is all too common and not every city has a paper as bold as the Memphis *Press* in denouncing it. It is high time for a renascence of ethical standards in newsgathering.

AUSTIN DOBSON, who died September 2, was a writer of whom it may be said, without too emphatic an antithesis, that his erudition was poetry and his poetry was erudition. Certain Old French stanzas furnished him the mold into which he decanted much of the finest liquor of his verse, and in prose he could venture as far as into the seventeenth century when there was a Pepys or an Evelyn to illustrate or comment upon. But the natural habitat of his imagination was the ages of Anne and of her immediate Hanoverian successors—ages much better named after such better men as Addison and Steele, Swift and Pope, Richardson and Fielding and Goldsmith, and those different moralists Hogarth and Dr. Johnson. These Mr. Dobson knew with an intimacy so nice that nothing but delight could come of it. He had caught the art of familiar verse from Gay and Prior and Swift and Goldsmith—though in his own work he employed also certain overtones from Villon and Praed—and he made himself the truest follower of Horace that the past half century produced in English. Here he worked in a fine tradition, and here he most nearly achieved perfection. He was perhaps as original, however, in his prose methods. There had been many English essayists and biographers before him, and yet not one of them had ever brought quite such deft minuteness of knowledge to bear upon such dainty themes as those which Mr. Dobson chose for his "Eighteenth Century Vignettes." Even his studies of Steele and Fielding and Goldsmith and Hogarth and Richardson, beguiling though they are, run to the side of the formal treatise by comparison with the piquant diversity and the infinite allusion and the golden succinctness of the "Vignettes."

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The New Light of Asia

THE Indian event of unique significance to mankind is not the serious Malabar rising, but the work of Gandhi and his non-cooperation movement. In an age men call cynical, materialistic, and disillusioned, the national hero and leader of India is a saint whose singular devotion, unselfishness, and spiritual power have won him the almost superstitious reverence of his own people and the respect of the most skeptical critics. At a time when the Western world is unable to think of concerted resistance in other terms than those of war, Gandhi has been able to persuade the organized Indian national movement to use non-cooperation as its weapon. The freedom of India, he realizes, may have to spring from the blood of her heroes, but he pleads, "Let it be said by coming generations that the only blood shed was our own." Not only violence of deed but of thought is a spiritual weakness. The brave man will renounce hate even of the oppressor.

But this spiritual weapon is also intensely practical. Having begun with the renunciation of British titles by Hindu patriots, non-cooperation will march step by step, as Indian support may warrant and British resistance require, to a general strike more thoroughgoing than any Western nation has seen. Before such a strike, properly organized, the British garrison in India would be powerless.

At present the best-known activity of the non-cooperators is the boycott of foreign cloth and the effort to revive hand weaving in order to win for India something like economic independence. Gandhi himself dramatically inaugurated the boycott on August 1 by lighting a great bonfire of foreign cloth. Much of the $4,000,000 fund raised by the National Congress is to go to the purchase of looms for those who will make homespun. Gandhi urges this reversion to domestic industry not merely as a tactical means to bring pressure on Britain. Japanese cloth as well as English is under the ban. The non-cooperators see in the revival of hand weaving a return to economic independence. India's bitter poverty dates from the destruction of her ancient looms. It will, they believe, end when spinning wheels hum in peasant cottages; and with domestic manufacture will return native art which machinery destroyed. The necessity of foreign trade is recognized; it is only on foreign cloth that the boycott falls.

But the boycott is only one of the many remarkable phases of the movement which seeks Hindu-Moslem fraternity, establishes national schools, breaks down the worst barriers of caste, and fights the opium and liquor traffic. Mr. Gandhi has announced that the time may soon come when he himself will feel compelled to practice the duty of civil disobedience to the laws of an unjust state. Already men are in prison because in accordance with the recommendation of the last National Congress they would not defend themselves in the British courts. The same Congress solemnly urged all Indian soldiers, in the event of British hostilities against the Turkish Government of Angora, to refuse all service. This particular sensitiveness to the relations between the British Empire and Turkey is inspired not only by Moslem concern for the sanctity of the Caliphate but by Indian concern, Hindu as well as Moslem, that Indian resources of men and money should not be wasted in imperial wars. The Nationalist movement also appears to be behind the numerous strikes whose primary cause is the miserable condition of the workers. But in all this Gandhi has kept his own soul free from hate. The literature of revolution contains no documents so uncompromising, yet so reasonable and sweet spirited, as his Letter to Every Englishman and his appeals to the cloth merchants and consumers.

So much one can affirm with reasonable certainty in spite of meager and often contradictory dispatches from British sources. And even fair-minded critics admit that the Nationalist movement has accomplished what a few years ago would have seemed miraculous. But for the future they have doubts. India, they remind us, far more truly than Italy before Mazzini, is a geographical expression. The people are desperately poor, illiterate, divided by caste, religion, and language. The more prosperous elements of the community stand aloof from the austere and sacrificial demands of Mahatma Gandhi. (Has it not been ever thus with great religious movements?) But, the critics continue, the masses have not so much caught Gandhi's spirit as lowered him to the level of a wonder-working saint. They do not carry on non-cooperation in orderly fashion. Such spontaneous strikes as that in Assam have inconvenienced the British, but they have brought enormous suffering on the natives. Gandhi may preach peaceful resistance but inevitably his agitation stirs up violence. He himself has recognized that his comrades do not share his religious views on this matter and has denounced the English for disarming the people. In particular the critics allege that the union of Moslems and Hindus is very superficial. In making his own the religious question of the caliphate, Gandhi is playing with dangerous fires of Moslem fanaticism. An English critic even alleges that the Ali brothers, Gandhi's Moslem aids, are more interested in Pan-Islam than in united India. Finally, Gandhi's attempt to revive hand weaving is criticized and he is reproached for his lack of a constructive program for an independent India. He, men say, is a saint, and like most saints, with all his powers of leadership, he is essentially and in the noblest sense an anarchist. His supreme tragedy may yet be not persecution by the British but a choice between rejection by his own people or renunciation of his cherished ideals.

We have summarized these criticisms not because we accept any or all of them but because they matter profoundly. The complete verdict on the course of Indian nationalism can only be written by time. But even now it is possible to say that British or rather Western imperialism is doomed. We are witnessing one of the great historic movements of our time in the awakening of Asia. However that awakening manifests itself in India, whether in the slow and constitutional progress of the Moderates; the spontaneous revolt, half blind and often violent, of exploited workers and hungry peasants; or the ordered resistance, spiritual and economic, of the non-cooperators, the struggle of those long oppressed deserves the sympathetic understanding of every man who waits for a new birth of freedom in every land. But if the triumph of India should mean the triumph of the spirit and method of Gandhi then indeed would a new day dawn for all mankind. For war would be shown to be as unnecessary for winning the outer semblance of freedom as it is destructive to the realization of its inner spirit.

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The Lessons of the War

THE reports of the public addresses delivered by the distinguished lecturers at the Institute of Politics, recently convened at Williamstown, create an impression of hopelessness and baffled confusion as to the future of international relations. Forebodings, warnings, deprecation of the war, dissatisfaction with its results permeate the addresses. In none has this spirit of depression and pessimism been more forcibly expressed than in the lectures of Viscount Bryce. Denouncing the Treaty of Versailles in terms which heretofore had been deemed reserved to the radicals, and predicting the most serious consequences, he paid the negotiators of the treaty a sorry compliment by observing that the negotiators of the Treaty of Vienna of a century ago at least knew what they were doing. Viscount Bryce sounded the final note of despair in his last address by deploring that the war had apparently not taught any lessons, and praying that some alliance of strong nations, perhaps the League of Nations, might yet save the world from impending disaster.

We venture to believe that the barrenness of lessons from the war and the confusion of the popular mind today have very sound and practical justifications. It could hardly be expected that lessons would be learned from any phenomenon until the phenomenon itself is understood. How can lessons be learned from the war, when the great object of national policy during and since the war has been to give it a purely one-sided and shallow explanation and interpretation, the truth of which the scholars, who should have been the first, have in reality been the last to challenge? Who has contributed more to the popular myth of a guilty nation plotting the war against a peaceful Europe than the so-called historians who occupy distinguished chairs in our universities? How many of them knew enough about the diplomatic background of the war to present a reasoned conclusion of its development and outbreak, even had they the impartiality, intellectual honesty, and courage to seek the truth alone? Many, if not most of them, on the contrary, placed such learning as they had at the service of their emotions, and consciously contributed to that fog of propaganda and confusion which served their Foreign Offices but not science and enlightenment. We will not now too severely criticize the political leaders who, in the face of the secret treaties, could continue to fulminate in terms of idealism. But the psychology of scholars who threw themselves unquestioningly and unembarrassed into the arms of a professional propaganda and made themselves its willing tools is more difficult to justify or palliate.

The consequences are now with us. The despondent group at Williamstown, many of whom had early abdicated their intellectual equilibrium, are practically estopped by their vociferous pronouncements during the war from taking up the thread of scientific research. They have lost that impartiality which must be the scholar's, like the judge's, indispensable qualification. How many among them are in a position frankly to assert that the militaristic policy of France on the continent of Europe is today one of the great dangers to the peace we have—unstable as it is—and that it is economically suicidal? The doubts, fears, and prayers voiced at Williamstown strike a note of futility which seems pitiful and yet fails to arouse real sympathy.

Not alone in their own lives, but in the popular mind, too, their disservice to the world is now reaping its rewards. Having given utterance to the most childish explanations of the war, they now have a vested interest either in foreclosing further research or in sustaining their original conclusions, once announced with such certainty; but the soporific and subversive effects of their propaganda have robbed the general public of its interest in or its willingness to discover any more satisfying explanation than that with which it has been supplied. A great crime has been punished, and "there's an end of it"! Having no background, and their governments themselves having by the very necessities of self-justification been lulled into indifference as to the true causes of the war, the peoples are now treading the same paths and making the same mistakes as those which led to the past war. And they are almost without intellectual leadership. Only the man who did not close his mind or who preserved his intellectual balance and reserved his utterances can now afford fearlessly to investigate and render judgment on the true nature of international relations. And in the United States, even more than in Europe, these men are very few, though fortunately they number some of those most competent to speak in the sphere of international relations.

Well may the speakers at Williamstown deplore the results of the war and the present confusion. They themselves are largely responsible for both. By their easy and confident judgment on the war and its causes, they have filtered away any public appreciation of the nature of that phenomenon and of similar ones that are now in the making. They have thereby contributed to the unintelligence as to cause and effect in international relations at the very time when popular understanding is so greatly needed to give any form of international cooperation, such, for example, as the Conference on Disarmament, any concrete or permanent results. Before they can again claim to share responsibility for leadership in opinion they must seek to undo the mischief they have wrought, and the number who can do that without stultification is not great.

Is It Un-American to Be Fair?

THE Government of Mexico is a government that believes in being fair to organized labor, and acts upon its belief. When it orders supplies in the United States it is very likely to write to the appropriate labor union and ask for a list of fair firms. It has discovered that the workmen, appreciating the action of the Mexican Government, act as self-appointed inspectors. Antonio Villareal, Minister of Agriculture, recently wrote to William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, thus:

> The Department of Agriculture of Mexico is purchasing quantities of farm machinery and implements, well-drilling machinery, automobiles, and tractors to the extent of several millions of dollars worth a year. It is our intention to purchase these supplies henceforth from factories fair to organized labor. We shall be very grateful to you if you will submit to us a list of the names of such manufacturers in the United States and Canada.

Mr. Johnston supplied the names of manufacturers who were "fair to organized labor," and orders were accordingly placed with them. Later Celestino Gasca, Governor of the Federal District, similarly obtained from Mr. Johnston a list of manufacturers of fire engines who were "fair to

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organized labor," and accordingly placed an order amounting to $49,589.11 with the American-La France Fire Engine Company of Elmira, N. Y. He recommended it as a fair firm also to the governor of the state of Puebla, Mexico. In all this the Mexican authorities were not going far beyond the stand of the American Government. Contractors manufacturing for the American Government are obliged by law to maintain an eight-hour day for their workers, and during the war the railroad employees were almost compelled by the Government to organize. But after all, the war is over; the American Government, though it still maintains the eight-hour law, has rather lost interest in organizing labor and is cool even to Mr. Samuel Gompers; and Mexico is Mexico, a foreign country and a small one at that.

Now, it may be guessed that all this did not go unnoticed by those American manufacturers who are fighting organized labor tooth and nail. And for those who have sometimes wondered just why the Open Shoppers invented the name of American Plan for their particular brand of non-union shop we quote the following resolutions, adopted recently by the American Plan or Open Shop Conference of Connecticut:

WHEREAS, In a letter dated January 28, 1921, written by Antonio I. Villareal, Secretary of Agriculture for the Government of Mexico, addressed to William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists of the United States, in which letter it is stated that the Government of Mexico proposes to purchase several million dollars' worth of farm machinery and implements, and

WHEREAS, In said letter it is further stated that it is the intention of the Government of Mexico to purchase these supplies from manufacturers in the United States fair to organized labor, and requests said Johnston to submit a list of such manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, Such request and proposed action is a discrimination by a foreign government in favor of a principle inimical to the best interests of the industrial life of the United States and should be looked upon with disfavor and as an act unfriendly to the people of a nation whose good graces it is seeking, therefore

Be it Resolved, That the American Plan or Open Shop Conference of the State of Connecticut in meeting assembled, in the name of and for American industry protests against any interference by a foreign government with the industrial problems of the United States, particularly when such interference tends to discriminate in favor of a principle un-American in character and contrary to the best interests of American industry;

Be it Resolved, That the secretary of the Conference transmit a copy of these resolutions to the senators and members of Congress from Connecticut, with the request that they do all that may be in the premises to protect American industry from this proposed unfair discrimination.

Read those resolutions again, and carefully. The Government of Mexico proposes to purchase "from manufacturers fair to organized labor"; and the Connecticut manufacturers protest because this "tends to discriminate in favor of a principle un-American in character." Out of their own mouths be they then explained and condemned: What they mean by "American" must be, unfair to organized labor, by "American Shop," a shop which is unfair to organized labor; and any manufacturer who treats labor squarely, and any person or government who prefers to deal with firms which are square, is un-American! If that be un-American, we wish there were more persons, firms, and governments which would make such un-American discrimination. Viva Mexico!

Pause

FALL comes and the tempo of life begins to race. The schools and colleges are about to open; the theaters flare and hum; publishers clamor for attention to their innumerable wares. It is like a deliberate attack, sudden and staggering, upon one's equilibrium and peace of mind. We are the more open to the attack since, like the Athenians, we are avid of new things and dread to let pass, even while we shrink from it, any enlargement of our horizon or stimulus to our nerves.

It takes some self-discipline to be the master of these things and not their slave. The counsel to reread an old book every time a new one is published is, as things are today, but a foolish one if taken literally. Creative participation in the immediate cultural process is our obvious duty. It cannot be achieved by the gentleman who dozes over his Thucydides and is unacquainted with "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." Not to be on friendly terms with "Tom Jones" is a calamity, but not to be acquainted with one or two American novels of the past year argues insensibility to the qualities and character of the life we actually live. We must be of our time. But we must neither run nor drift with it. To govern and direct the amount and nature of our participation in that rushing, swirling current—that is the problem each individual must decide for himself.

It is not a sum in mathematics. You cannot chart your proposed reading and seeing and hearing. Extremes are easiest to achieve. You may, like Mrs. Katherine Fullerton Gerould, consider the present vulgar and feed on your own sense of superiority; or you may, like the professional first-nighter in New York, get your intellectual sustenance from the mere sense of being on the spot. You may affect the classical and consider no man a gentleman who has not read Horace with his feet on the fender, or, like some of our ultra-moderns, you may consider that nothing which appeared before the year of your birth has significance in the world of art and letters. A more fruitful and discriminating attitude requires a pause not only at this moment but recurrently during the months to come.

That pause should be not one of hard thinking or planning or anticipatory selecting. It is enough to stand an hour by a river, inertly watching the eternal change of idle eddies, or to sit in your study without even opening a book, listening, not distinguishing one sound from another, to the eternal, unintelligible hum of life. A sense comes to one, in such hours, of the quality of that sum of things in which there is neither rest nor haste, which sweeps on steadily but without fever. The best among us are too often without that background of the enduring and inevitable. We are terribly anxious either to have things congeal, like the New England critics, or to have them "pick up speed" at our bidding. But the "eternal, iron laws" of which Goethe reminds us hem us in. That hemming in is restful rather than cruel. We must travel with the universe, and neither pulling nor goading will avail us much. Thus to pause often and recover a sense of the ultimate process of which we are a part will cleanse and strengthen the inner guide to action. This is no mystic counsel nor one to quietism. But it will help us to lay hold upon the relativity of values and events and free us from the indignity of over-eagerness upon whatever path we travel.

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The Ku Klux Klan—"Soul of Chivalry"

By ALBERT DE SILVER

THE modern Ku Klux Klan, according to its descriptive folder entitled "The Ku Klux Klan—Who—Why—What," has been in the making for the past twenty years. Its Imperial Wizard, Mr. William Joseph Simmons (who has copyrighted the folder), "for fourteen years thought, studied, and worked to prepare himself for its launching." Dedicating his life to the cause, "he kept his own counsel during these years, and in the silent recesses of his soul he thought out the great plan." In the fall of 1915 he was ready and on Thanksgiving night of that year he took thirty-four intrepid spirits to the top of a mountain near Atlanta, Georgia, and there "on the mountain top that night at the midnight hour while men braved the surging blasts of wild wintry mountain winds and endured a temperature far below freezing, bathed in the sacred glow of the fiery cross, the Invisible Empire was called from its slumber of half a century."

One might have expected that such a portentous event would have been attended by some extraordinary disturbance of the celestial spheres or at least by some strange and mysterious currents in the affairs of men. And indeed, on July 4 next, there did appear from the Aulic of His Majesty, the Imperial Wizard (Mr. William Joseph Simmons) an "Imperial Proclamation" directed "to the whole world," in which the aims of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., were set forth. This impressive document, done in a literary style which should perhaps be described as neo-African, stated simply that the Order, *inter alia*, was "dedicated to the sublime and pleasant duty of providing generous aid, tender sympathy, and fraternal assistance in the effulgence of the light of life and amid the sable shadows of death." All men who could qualify were invited "to approach the portal of our beneficent domain and join . . . the sacred duty of protecting womanhood . . . to maintain forever white supremacy in all things . . . to bless mankind, and to keep eternally ablaze the sacred fire of a fervent devotion to a pure Americanism." In conclusion the Order was stated to be "the soul of chivalry and virtue's impenetrable shield."

The Imperial Wizard made this verbal magnificence somewhat more specific in an interview later vouchsafed a Chicago representative of the Universal Service. The reporter, after passing the "ghoul," "the goblin," and the "cyclops" who guarded approach to the Grand Wizard, was told:

> We exclude Jews because they do not believe in the Christian religion. We exclude Catholics because they owe allegiance to an institution that is foreign to the Government of the United States. Any native-born American who is a member of the English church or any other foreign church is barred. To assure the supremacy of the white race we believe in the exclusion of the yellow race and in the disfranchisement of the Negro. It was God's act to make the white race superior to all others. By some scheme of Providence the Negro was created as a serf. . . . We harbor no race prejudices. The Negro never had and has not today a better friend than the Ku Klux Klan. The law-abiding Negro who knows his place has nothing to fear from us. . . . We do not act until called upon but if needed we have a great invisible and mysterious force that will strike terror into the hearts of lawbreakers.

Which, after all, gave more hint of the sober reality of the Klan than did the Imperial Proclamation of 1915.

For some years after the proclamation indeed little was heard of the Klan. The fiery cross appears to have remained hidden under a bushel. In the fall of 1920, however, the name began to appear in the newspapers in a disquieting manner. On October 21 the New York *Tribune* reports that a certain Peter McMahon of Yonkers, while traveling South to assist a lady in a dispute about her share in the estate of a deceased relative, was "taken from a train at Trenton, South Carolina, by a gang of men dressed as Ku Klux Klansmen, who had attempted to lynch him and then had beaten him." The men, it seems, had tried to force him to sign a declaration adverse to the claims of his client. And ten evenings later, and just before election day, five hundred members of the Ku Klux Klan marched in costume through the streets of Jacksonville, Florida, following the fiery cross, "supposedly," according to the New York *Times*, "as a warning to Negroes to attempt no lawlessness at the polls on Tuesday." It is of record that few colored people voted in Jacksonville on Tuesday. "White supremacy" was maintained.

With the spring of 1921 there came, principally in the State of Texas, a remarkable crop of mob outrages, all perpetrated by masked bands of men and so similar in technique as to suggest a common origin. Among the persons attacked were both blacks and whites, men and women, and there was such a variety of apparent causes as to defy analysis. Responsibility for two, at least, of the mobbings was publicly avowed by the Beaumont, Texas, branch of the Klan and it was widely assumed, in the absence of local disavowal, that such responsibility was general. Southern as well as Northern newspapers became loud in their denunciation of the violence of the Ku Kluxers. The Imperial Wizard apparently became alarmed, and issued statements (inserted in many papers as full-page paid advertisements) denying that the lawlessness was due to the Klan. He even revoked the charter of the Beaumont branch, which had indiscreetly written to the papers, with the Klan's official seal, glorying in its crimes. He also suspended the charters of the Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida, chapters, which also were caught in rather too flagrant and public violence. But the cases of threats, tar-and-featherings, and general rowdiness by mysterious masked and white-capped men calling themselves Klansmen continued. The Galveston, Texas, *Daily News* for July 19 lists nineteen such incidents in Texas alone, beginning on April 1, when a band of masked men took a Negro bellboy from a Dallas hotel, carried him into the country near by, whipped him, and branded the letters K.K.K. with acid on his forehead. The last was on July 16, at Tenaha, when a young white woman was seized on a hotel porch by masked men wearing white uniforms, taken several miles into the country, undressed, tarred and feathered, and returned to town. "The sacred duty of protecting womanhood," no doubt! Proclamations and warnings signed "Ku Klux Klan" and directed against grafters, idlers, bootleggers, and agitators appeared in a number of places, including the State Capitol. In as far separated places as Houston, Beaumont, Dallas, Waco, Belton, Goose Creek, Fort Worth, Glidden, Deweyville, and

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Timpson men were seized by masked bands and roughly handled. In some cases they were merely beaten. In others they were tarred and feathered in addition. Their abductors on some occasions acted anonymously. On others they acted in the name of the Ku Klux Klan and now and then they placarded their exploit upon the person of their victim. The victims themselves were sometimes bad characters and sometimes of good repute. One was a former Marine who served at Château Thierry. Another, Sherwood Vinson, was the son of a life-long resident of Lufkin, Texas, who writes to the American Civil Liberties Union thus:

> My 19-year-old boy, Sherwood Vinson, received a letter through our mail ordering him to leave and advise his bootlegger friends to go with him. I took the letter to the grand jury and ask the jury to tell my boy if he was violating the law but they done nothing so far as I could tell. Later they caught the boy on the streets of Lufkin with a pistol in the hand of one of them, put him in a car, went to the woods, tarred and feathered him, brought him back to the streets of Lufkin, set him out, and our Sheriff paid no attention, so far as I could tell, to the pistol or crime. The boy says he knows the men that done the work. I have lived here sixty-four years, not educated, but want right, want the laws executed, and tried to get the grand jury to do so. We can get the bunch if we can get the law handed out honest. . . .

Although the State of Texas has been more favored than any other by these manifestations of a desire to "bless mankind," they have appeared elsewhere throughout the South. At Miami, Florida, on July 17, the British rector of a church in the Negro quarter was tarred and feathered by masked men. The day before, an elderly farmer was similarly seized and whipped at Warrensburg, Missouri. On July 23, a man and a woman at Birmingham, Alabama, received like treatment. And so it has gone. Of course much is charged to the Klan that cannot be traced directly to Mr. William Joseph Simmons's dues-paying organization. The game was too inviting; naturally it had imitators. Some call themselves Ku Klux Klansmen without paying dues; others indignantly oppose the Klan but copy its methods. An anti-Ku Klux Klan organization in southern Texas adopted the slogan, "Kill 'em on sight like you would a mad dog." The "Black Band" of Joaquin, Shelby County, Texas, threatened to burn the whole town if Klansmen committed more violence. And in Charlotte, North Carolina, a 19-year-old genius elected himself "Exalted Dragon" of a Junior Ku Klux, and collected twenty-five cents dues each from a large number of his young friends. There is occasional confusion of purpose: in Florida the Klan declares that it is against blue laws, but in Texas it threatens bootleggers. In one Florida town a group of alleged Klansmen even threatened a judge guilty of enforcing the speed laws.

Of late there have come serious charges of a financial nature against the Klan. Major Craven, the Grand Dragon of the Invisible Empire for the Realm of North Carolina, recently issued an order disbanding the Klan in that State, saying that as conducted in North Carolina "it is an organization engaged exclusively in collecting initiation fees under false pretenses, without any legal standing in the State, and is, in my opinion, a failure and a fraud." He added that "the most notorious criminal in the county got in by paying for it . . . and the organizers kept him in because he was bringing in others of the same kind at so much per head." Major Craven's charges are disputed by the King Kleagle of the Realm, Mr. W. V. Guerard, but they should perhaps serve to make other public officials follow the example of the Mayor of Philadelphia who has directed that inquiry be made as to the disposition of the fees for which membership in the Order is bestowed. These fees are large. It costs $10 to be initiated into the Klan, plus $6.50 for a white robe—and it is obvious that these robes can be produced at a cost of about one dollar. These fees appear to go to the Grand Aulic of the Imperial Wizard at Atlanta. Local branches charge further dues, usually $5 or $10 annually. What becomes of all this money is not known. The Imperial Wizard says he pays himself only $100 per week, but an Atlanta paper recently announced the purchase by the Ku Klux Klan of an entire block on Peachtree Road which was to be made National Headquarters "at a cost of about one million dollars." "Landscape improvements," including an artificial lake and "about $30,000 worth of marble and plaster statuary," were to be made. "Lanier University," Atlanta (a school which does not figure in the rather complete list of academic institutions in the World Almanac), has also been taken over by the Klan, and the Imperial Wizard himself, it is announced, will be the new president. It may be said that William Allen White was probably not unjustified in exulting that it was "to the everlasting credit of Emporia that the organizer of this cheap clan found no suckers here with $10 each to squander."

It is, of course, unlikely that the remarkable series of mob outbreaks were foreseen by the Imperial Wizard in 1915. Such a program would have been too hazardous to have been deliberate. But what should have been foreseen was that such a consequence was well-nigh inevitable. The Klan springs from the memory of post-civil war lawlessness, when the Negro was disfranchised by terror. It proclaims its purpose to maintain white supremacy and to protect womanhood, the two customary cloaks for lynching. Its leader asserts its purpose to protect the security of the people "in the absence or inadequacy of the forces of law and order." Its membership form discloses an unmistakable anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic bias. Its organizers in the North admit at private meetings that there it is to be mainly an instrument of anti-Semitism. Its protestations of 100 per cent Americanism and its warnings to agitators suggest the familiar tactics of the conventional opponents of organized labor. Indeed the group of rowdies at first described as American Legion men who tore Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett from a Socialist platform in Mason City, Iowa, last month, and drove her out of town, were quoted by the United Press correspondent as saying that "they preferred to be known as the Ku Klux Klan"; and the Kansas City *Post* frankly describes the Klan in that part of the world as an anti-Non-partisan League organization. Over the whole has been thrown an amazing haze of mumbo jumbo with its Imperial Wizards, its King Kleagles, its Grand Dragons, Ghouls, Goblins, and Cyclopses, its fiery crosses and the rest. It was inevitable that all this should have attracted those most easily stirred to mob action and that the range of prejudice to which the Order appeals should have led to repeated outbreaks. The Imperial Wizard (Mr. William Joseph Simmons) should have foreseen all this. He cannot now absolve himself by proclaiming lawful and beneficent purposes for his Empire. He had much better "destroy the child of his own handiwork," as he threatened to do not long ago. It is a child conceived in the tradition of a lawless past and brought forth in the extravagant obscurantism of present-day prejudice. Its life cannot and should not be a happy one. The modern Ku Klux Klan does not deserve to live and it had much better die.

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Tenting on the New Camp Ground

By WALTER PRICHARD EATON

THE most conspicuous thing in the West now is the sign, Free Municipal Camp Ground. Almost every city, town, and hamlet, from the Dakotas to the Pacific, maintains such a camp ground, and it is in constant use. Moreover, the national parks are full of campers who have come by motor and who do not go to the hotels at all. Before the first of August there had been 100,000 visitors at Yellowstone, the majority of whom, a hotel man woefully complained, were "sage ticks." He meant that they were sagebrush farmers or ranchmen who had come into the park with their families, on an outing, and who were camping. The Pacific Highway in Oregon, which extends south from Portland all the way to the California line, is full of touring automobiles, and on every second car (even more frequently, perhaps) you see camping equipment bulging from the rear seats and strapped to both running-boards. The motor accessory stores in all Western cities display various ingenious devices which fasten to the car and which can be let down and converted into beds and tents. Certainly thousands of people have been brought into the country in their motor-cars, many of whom, perhaps, would be forced to remain at home if they had to depend on railroads and hotels.

The West, of course, is a roomy and a democratic land. If you aren't quite democratic enough to put up at a municipal camp ground—and it is a test, I admit!—there is always a chance to find some wild and secluded spot; or, for that matter, you can drive in at any ranch and find a welcome under a tree. Since I got home to Massachusetts, however, I have been wondering what would happen if any considerable number of our Eastern people who possess small cars and small incomes were to decide that the inability to pay railroad fares and hotel charges wasn't going to keep them from having a real vacation, bought tents and coffee pots, and started out to camp it from New York to Bretton Woods. I live on the motor road between those two points. Would I invite families in to camp on my place? In a word, no. Would my neighbors to the south, to the north? Again, no. All along our road we struggle to keep our places gardened; we cherish every smallest tree; we dread fire; we hate the litter of cans and rubbish nine out of every ten campers always leave in a region where camping is not an instinct; finally, I fear it must be confessed, we are far from hospitably democratic at heart and would resent any invasion of our privacy. Some wild spots to camp in might be found if one knew the country and where to turn off the main highway; but it would require an accurate knowledge to avoid trespass and to be sure of the purity of the water supply. At present, in short, the low-priced motor holiday possible to thousands and thousands in the West is in the East practically an impossibility.

But anyone who has seen Western families on the road will admit this is rather a pity. Here especially, where our population is most congested in cities, we most need the opportunity for escape and for free contact with the open spaces. It seems to me that the motor has opened up a whole new field for rational and comparatively inexpensive outdoor enjoyment, and that to develop and cultivate this field in the East is the new task confronting our park and State forest departments. The idea of a park as an open space full of bedded pansies, cannas, and settees close to a city was well enough before the advent of the motor. It is antiquated now, or, rather, it is inadequate.

There are millions of acres of deforested and waste land in the Northeastern States, a large percentage of it unfit for agriculture, which should, of course, be reforested; which sooner or later has got to be reforested if we are to survive comfortably, or even survive at all. At present, however, only the feeblest beginning of such reforestation has been made, largely because insufficient public pressure has been brought to bear on our shortsighted State legislators. But if State forests could be administered something as our national parks are administered—that is, as outdoor playgrounds—if their vast potential recreational value could be developed and stressed, a demand for their constant increase and improvement would arise, and not only we but future generations would be greatly the gainers.

There is no quicker and more effective way to develop the recreational side of State forests in the East than to open them and advertise them as motor camp grounds. There is, for example, a considerable tract of forest land in western Connecticut now controlled by the State. In western Massachusetts sixty miles north there are two tracts of State forest (at present practically inaccessible to the ordinary tourist), one of 7,000, the other of 14,000 acres. One or two similar tracts under State control in southern Vermont and southern New Hampshire would fill in a chain to the White Mountains, where at last some provision is made for the camper. In the case of existing forests and reservations it would be a comparatively simple matter to post the roads in to them, put these roads into condition where necessary, designate some attractive place near protected water as a camp ground, and erect there sanitary facilities and dig a rubbish disposal pit. A few signs of the proper sort, combined with the pressure of the responsible campers, will soon teach those who use such camping sites to use them properly. Through all the Northwest this summer I didn't see one living tree that had been cut down by campers.

But even a bit of litter or actual damage at first is a small price to pay for the best possible advertisement of the State forest idea—getting people into the forests, showing them how the forests can be used for their pleasure and their profit, giving them an object lesson in the spiritual as well as the material advantages. If there could once be established a chain of State forests or reservations, each of which contained a pleasant motor camp ground beside running water or a pond, leading by easy stages from some large Eastern city out three or four hundred miles into what is left to us now of real mountain wilderness, I believe our highways, like those of the West, would be full of camp-equipped motors, thousands of our people would be able to get back into the zestful, health-renewing life of the outdoors, and the enthusiasm and demand for a real, an adequate reforestation policy would receive such an impetus as it has never yet been blessed with.

Certainly, being the pleasure-loving and perverse creatures we are, the mere logic of reforestation will make small headway with us, till at last we find ourselves timberless. But if the recreational feature of State and national forests is properly developed and sufficiently stressed, we may yet save ourselves in time. It seems to me the West is showing us the way, and that the brown tent on the running-board is the hope of our forests.

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Marching Through West Virginia

By HEBER BLANKENHORN

I

IF—as the war correspondents used to begin—you will place your left hand on the map of West Virginia, with the edge of the palm along the Kanawha River at Charleston, the down-pointing thumb will lie along the road southwest into Logan and Mingo counties, and the outstretched fingers will represent the valleys whence the miners collected for the march along the thumb-line. That region has filled the country's newspapers with *communiqués*, dealing with contending "armies," "lines" held along Spruce Fork Ridge, intrenchments, machine-gun nests, bombing planes, so many dead for the day, so many wounded.

Marmet is ten miles from the State capital at the mouth of Lens Creek Valley. On the afternoon of August 22 a cordon of 100 armed men is stretched across the dirt road, the mine railroad, and the creek, barring out officers of the law, reporters, all inquirers. Inside lies the "trouble." The miners have been mobilizing for four days. A snooping airplane has just been driven off with hundreds of shots. Accident and a chance acquaintance let me in.

The men, a glance shows, are mountaineers, in blue overalls or parts of khaki uniform, carrying rifles as casually as picks or sticks. They are typical. The whole village seems to be out, except the children, women, and old men. They show the usual mining-town mixture of cordiality and suspicion to strangers. But the mining-camp air of loneliness and lethargy is gone. Lens Creek Valley is electric and bustling. They mention the towns they come from, dozens of names, in the New River region, in Fayette County, in counties far to the north. All are union men, some railroaders. After a mile we reach camp. Hundreds are moving out of it—toward Logan. Over half are youths, a quarter are Negroes, another quarter seem to be heads of families, sober looking, sober speaking. Camp is being broken to a point four miles further on. Trucks of provisions, meat, groceries, canned goods move up past us.

"This time we're sure going through to Mingo," the boys say. "Them Baldwin-Feltses [company detectives] has got to go. They gotta stop shooting miners down there. Keeney turned us back the last time, him and that last Governor. Maybe Keeney was right that time. This new Governor got elected on a promise to take these Baldwin-Feltses out. If nobody else can budge them thugs, we're the boys that can. This time we go through with it."

"What started you?"

"This thing's been brewing a long while. Then two of our people gets shot down on the courthouse steps—you heard of Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers? The Governor gives them a safe conduct; they leave their guns behind and get killed in front of their wives. It was a trap."

"But that was several weeks ago."

"Well, it takes a while for word to get 'round. Then they let his murderer, that Baldwin-Felts, Lively, out on bond—free—with a hundred miners in jail in Mingo on no charges at all—just martial law. Well, we heard from up the river that everybody was coming here. We knew what for. When we found lots had no guns we sent back to get them."

Bang! Bang-bang! from below in the valley.

"That's a high-power," one remarks. "What are those damn fools wasting ammunition for? Maybe that airplane's come back. You know, several hundred service men was drilling this morning. After five minutes they was putting right smart amount of snap into it."

We have forded the creek a dozen times, have passed through Hernshaw—a mean-looking mining village—we pass hundreds of men; then an auto with women passes us.

"See our Red Cross nurses?"

The women have nurses' white head-dresses, with big blue letters on the band over the brow, "U. M. W."

"They're wives of some of the boys. They've had experience nursing. They say they'll see this through."

A man says: "I got five children. I worked once in Logan. I thought this thing over a long time 'fore I started. Now I ain't going back." He thoughtfully weighs some long brass cartridges in his hand. Four others in the group do the same. The five kinds of heavy cartridges are all different, but each gun looks spotlessly well kept. One youngster in uniform even wears his overseas cap. "Does this look like the Argonne?" "Them hills wasn't so steep."

At the upper camp are a thousand men in a group. Expressions of determination are frequent and profane. Explanations of the "army's" purpose do not agree. "We want the law." "We want justice." "We're going to drive out the mine guards." "Going to get our people out of jail." "A protest against the Governor's martial law in Mingo."

A pleasant man remarkable for a white collar is easing a pistol out of his belt. "What do you boys really think you can do?" He gives a short laugh. "Well, John Brown started something once at Harper's Ferry, didn't he?" Back in Charleston I was still wondering what to reply. But the "army" seemed too many-headed ever to march.

II

So much for the "inside." Outside the Charleston newspapers displayed some perturbation over the miners at Marmet, who were "ravishing the country, robbing passers-by, and threatening death to law officers." A "law and order league" to counteract the "crime wave" had just been organized. Governor E. F. Morgan had addressed it; "moonshine liquor, pistol-toting, and automobiles" were the three great evils responsible for West Virginia lawlessness, he said; the miners were at Marmet "for the sole purpose of terrorizing the government of the State."

Otherwise West Virginia was normal; the strike of miners in Mingo County was still on, in its fifteenth month. The heads of the union, C. F. Keeney, president, and Fred Mooney, secretary, of District 17, United Mine Workers, "had washed their hands" of the Marmet affair.

Next day "Mother" Jones, veteran organizer of the U. M. W., exhorted the miners to disband. She read what purported to be a telegram from President Harding promising that the Baldwin-Felts mine guards would go. The miners, through Keeney and Mooney, learned from the White House that no such telegram had been sent. That night the army, now swelled to 8,000, marched.

Coal mining in central West Virginia stopped. Miners with rifles, by the thousand, poured into Marmet, some riding on the tops of passenger trains. War maps with red

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and yellow pins appeared in Charleston shop windows, showing Spruce Fork Ridge on the border of Logan County as the "line" held by Sheriff Don Chafin with his deputies and mine guards, machine-guns, and two bombing planes. The Governor called for Federal troops. By Thursday night the "army" was strung out half across Boone County. They were marching in companies, in something like military order. At times they stopped to listen to speeches in which "deserters were cussed out"; or to listen to leaders on how to fight machine-guns—"lie down, watch where the bullets cut the trees, outflank 'em, and get the snipers." Stores in Peytona, Racine, and Madison were selling or loaning them all available stocks of food and guns. Women along the way set out food. Several doctors joined the army. Men who fell out had to leave their guns and cartridges behind.

At three o'clock Friday morning Brigadier General Bandholtz from Washington routed the Governor out of bed. At four he sent for Keeney and Mooney. He said curtly that the situation was in his hands and that he had "no concern with the merits of the controversy."

"What's the object of these miners?"

"To get the Baldwin-Felts detectives out."

"Do you think they will accomplish their object?"

"No."

"Can you stop them?"

"Probably."

"Will you try?"

At five o'clock Keeney and Mooney were pursuing the "army." By evening they were turning back the head of the column and ordering special trains, passenger and electric, to haul all home. But some of the men were so dissatisfied that they commandeered a train that night, loaded it up with men and sped, headlight out, down the valley to Logan County. There they joined the union miners around Sharples, Blair, and Clothier, and found fighting.

General Bandholtz returned to Washington, first sending for Keeney and Mooney. He complimented them for their "efficient action." Then he read a statement for the press, holding them "responsible for the acts of the members of the society which they represent." Keeney hotly resented this. The general urged Keeney to use his influence to disarm the miners: "I've seen enough of shootings and hangings following insurrections. We don't want any more."

"Shooting and hanging don't scare me," retorted Keeney. "Taking guns away from the miners is hardly my business. We have a constitutional right to bear arms—about the only right left to us. I've a high-power rifle, three pistols, and a thousand rounds of ammunition at home. I'd like to see anybody take away that gun—except smoking."

General William Mitchell also departed. He had flown in, wearing a pistol, four rows of ribbons, and two spurs (he is chief of the air service). "All this could be left to the air service," he said. "If I get orders I can move in the necessary forces in three hours."

"How would you handle masses of men under cover in gullies?"

"Gas," said the general. "Gas. You understand we wouldn't try to kill these people at first. We'd drop tear gas all over the place. If they refused to disperse then we'd open up, with artillery preparation and everything."

"What are you going to do about the other 'army' of deputies, etc., in Logan County?"

But those "were peaceful citizens defending their homes"; as for the machine-guns and bombing planes, "they belong to the sheriff, don't they?"

III

Such are the facts. They do not inspire confidence in the workings of government and law which the miners at Marmet so seriously affronted. For sanity, the actions of government and of the miners' army seem to be on a par.

The "trouble" in West Virginia is several years old. Its peculiarities are West Virginian but its bases are industrial and national. It has been marked by killings on both sides, by "investigations," by evils condemned, and nothing done.

It might be more sensible in dealing with West Virginia to begin by facing three facts. First, the present phase of civil war has lasted since 1919, its main features unchanged, with no attempt to change them hitherto by the Federal Government. An outbreak was bound to come. Second, the outbreak was a rising of a considerable section of the people, not a mob of toughs. Estimates of the "army" ran from 10,000 to 14,000. Perhaps two or three times that number of people actively abetted or openly approved the march. Third, these people took the law into their own hands because they believe that *that is precisely what "the other side" has been doing for a long time.*

They believe that the coal operators have long supported private armies, chiefly Baldwin-Felts "detectives," who beat up or kill union miners; that lawless mine guards are frequently cloaked in county or State authority. They will tell you that on June 14, Flag Day, members of the State constabulary, aided by sheriff's deputies, assailed the Lick Creek tent colony. This camp contains part of the 10,179 men, women, and children of the Mingo strike who are still drawing relief from the union. The constabulary shot dead Alex Breedlove, a striker, then slashed many tents to pieces and destroyed the strikers' food supplies. It is public record that the recruits for the State constabulary were picked from lists provided by the coal operators. The law provides that the members must be residents of West Virginia and file a bond. No such bonds have been approved by the State Treasurer. On July 8 the State constabulary shut up the union offices at Williamson, arrested twelve union officers and strikers there, and put them in jail under the martial law which Governor Morgan had declared in Mingo County. It is public record that this martial law was being enforced only against miners' assemblies, commercial and other associations being allowed to meet freely. Some of these officials have been fighting the union since 1912. On August 1 came the killing of Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers, on the steps of the courthouse in McDowell County, by Baldwin-Felts gunmen. The gunmen's leader, C. E. Lively, had been a spy inside the union for years, then served a year in prison in Colorado for killing a striker, then testified before the Senate committee in Washington last month; after being arrested for killing Hatfield he was released under bond. Hatfield and Chambers were members of the union; two other members, Collins and Kirkpatrick, who escaped the gunmen by running, were, with Mrs. Hatfield and Mrs. Chambers, to have told their stories at a mass meeting in Charleston on August 27. The authorities suppressed the meeting.

Thus 10,000 mountaineer miners have come to believe that certain persons have been taking the law pretty completely into their own hands. They retaliate in kind. It is hard to interest them in senatorial investigations. They may come to believe that the Federal as well as the State Government cloaks operators who take the law into their hands. Then they will talk even more of John Brown and Harper's Ferry.

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Russia Fights the Famine

By IDA O'NEIL

Riga, August 6

"EVEN God is against us," a Bogorodsk textile worker said to me one day in early June as we stood by the wreck of his factory garden. "The fields and the gardens are dying; and if they die then we too will die, like the beasts." Some rain-god must have heard his complaint, for twenty-four hours later the period of drought ended and during several weeks the Moscow district received a daily downpour that saved the garden of the Bogorodsk factory-hand and probably restored his faith in Providence.

The province or government of Moscow was not the only region to benefit from the June rains. Throughout central Russia and the Ukraine the vegetable crops were saved. In the Volga district, however, relief came too late. The early summer (hot weather began in April) and the weeks of drought had done their work. In Tsaritsin a portion of the spring wheat was rescued, but in Samara, in Saratov, and in the Tartar republics fully 80 per cent of the grain crop had been destroyed. For hundreds of square miles the plants lay burned at the roots and the ground for fully an arshin [28 inches] deep was baked hard as a stone.

The Russian Government seems to have realized somewhat tardily the gravity of the situation, although Lenin early in June had sounded a warning which events soon proved to be accurate. By July 1, however, the reports from the Volga district became so alarming that all Moscow was whipped into a fever of activity.

The Commissariat of Education was among the first to receive accurate information concerning the extent of the famine. Many of the 14,000 schools of the Volga district sent in reports describing local conditions, together with appeals for help of all kinds. Lunacharski himself was quick to realize the utility of the educational apparatus in the struggle against the famine. Then, too, he feared for the very existence of his department in the Volga district. He was aware that the teachers of the region had received neither rations nor salary since the schools were closed in May. He knew that if they remained unaided they would probably die of hunger; and if they abandoned the district the educational system would be damaged irreparably. "We must save the teachers together with the children," maintained Lunacharski. "We must utilize them in administering relief. They are intelligent. They are already acquainted with the district. They know the peasant and his problems and they have his confidence. They can be of infinite aid to the famine sufferer and at the same time they can share his plate of soup." Due to the efforts of Lunacharski, the Commissariat of Education became one of the first active agencies for relief work in the Volga. A special famine budget was voted and it now works in close collaboration with the Public Health and Food Commissariats, under the control of the Famine Commission.

Reports from the Volga give appalling pictures of conditions in the district. Thirteen provinces in all are affected. The most fertile region of Russia, which in ordinary times furnishes one-sixth of the entire grain supply, is ravaged by famine and disease, from Kazan to the Caucasus and from Turkestan to the Sea of Azov. Four million people are facing starvation. Within a few weeks it is anticipated that the number will be increased to 25,000,000, practically the entire population of the Volga district.

Early in July panic spread through the region. Whole villages loaded their belongings on carts and wagons and migrated toward Siberia and the Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of famished peasants are rushing in on the districts still fertile like an army of locusts. In their wake rolls up a mighty wave of cholera. Fugitives fill boat and railway stations and assail the trains at every crossing. Overcrowded Moscow has already been invaded by thousands of refugees.

Samples of food sent to Moscow by the local soviets show what fate is in store for those who remain behind. At Saratov and Samara bread is made from ground birch leaves and bark. Moss and acorns are prized articles of diet, but moss is rare and this year's acorns are shriveled and dry. The German colonists on the Volga live on grass and field mice. At Tashkent they are eating mud.

The problem of the children is one of the gravest that confronts the relief commissions. Thousands of children have been abandoned by the migrating peasants. Many are dropped at the doorway of schools and soviet institutions. Others are left to roam about the country in hungry hordes. The town of Saratov numbers thousands of homeless children who find shelter in abandoned barges along the river and live by begging, thieving, and prostitution. The local government is making every effort to cope with the situation, but the schools and asylums are crowded far beyond their capacity and the number of waifs increases daily. In the entire famine district the number of children cared for by the state has increased from 72,000 in April to nearly 300,000 at the end of July. In Samara alone the soviet is caring for 60,000 children instead of the 15,000 listed in May. The Samara provincial government is making an effort to assemble all the homeless children in a tent colony. There the mortality is very high. "We have very little to give them," the doctor in charge explains sadly, "but at least we prevent them from dying in the streets." From the region of Samara come stories of parents who throw their children into the Volga and then sit down stoically to wait for death.

Russia is called upon to solve the famine problem at a time when she should logically concentrate every effort on general economic reconstruction. It is hard to say to what extent the famine might have been avoided. Perhaps too great a wheat supply was taken from the Volga district during the requisitions of 1919 and 1920. Yet enough land was planted last autumn to have fed all Russia during 1921, with a liberal seed surplus for the coming year, had not the drought (from which all Europe has suffered to a varying degree) ravaged the crops in the basin of the Volga.

The famine question has three phases: the people must be fed, the exodus from the district checked, and the winter wheat sown. All of this must be accomplished without delay. Time presses. Food must be rushed to the famine

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districts. In three weeks at most the crisis will be reached for 25,000,000 people. The season for sowing begins August 15; all grain must be in the ground by October 1.

According to estimates made by the Commissariat of Agriculture, 48,000,000 dessiatins [a dessiatin is about 2.7 acres] must be sown if another famine is to be avoided next year. It will take 48,000,000 poods [there are about 60 poods to the English ton] of grain to sow an acreage equivalent to that sown in 1921. Experts estimate that there are 20,000,000 poods in the Volga district that may be utilized for seed if the Government succeeds in feeding the population until October 1. It is believed that the state will be able to furnish 15,000,000 poods of seed. The remaining 13,000,000 poods must be secured abroad. Canada has already promised 6,000,000 poods; but as it is feared that this supply will arrive too late for sowing, the Russian Government is trying to negotiate a seed loan in Latvia and Esthonia, to be returned as soon as the shipments arrive from America. An attempt is also being made to recover the seed loaned to Russian peasants during 1919 and 1920.

The chief problem today is how to prevent the peasants of the Volga region from eating the grain necessary for seed. It will take 32,000,000 poods of bread to feed the Volga district during the coming eight weeks. Where is this to be obtained?

It is not believed that the much-discussed *prodnalok* or tax-in-kind will be of much if any assistance to the famine area. Owing to conditions in the Volga district, the first estimated figure [240,000,000 poods] will be diminished by a full third. Probably not more than 180,000,000 poods will be collected; this represents little more than half the amount obtained by last year's requisitions. The greater part of the food materials obtained by the *prodnalok* will be needed to feed the cities not included in the famine region.

The newly proposed loan-in-kind offers no brighter prospects. The peasant will have little surplus to lend once he has paid the tax and exchanged his grain for other products necessary to his existence. Then, too, the regions capable of furnishing a surplus, however small, are this year very limited. Even the usually fertile Ukraine will for the first time in its history scarcely be able to meet its own needs. By purchase and exchange the state hopes to collect several million poods of grain for bread during the month of August. The remaining amount necessary to feed the population of the Volga district until the next harvest must be obtained from abroad.

In the meantime the Soviet Government is making heroic efforts to rush food to the hungry millions. All Russia is being combed for supplies: fish from Odessa and the Baltic, potatoes from Yaroslav, government stores of rice and American navy beans that Moscow has been eating all summer and which no Russian has yet learned to cook. Thousands of poods are listed daily in the *Isvestia* and the *Pravda*, figures that would seem impressive if one did not know that millions are hungry.

Appeals for help have met with quick response on the part of the people. Those who lack much are sharing their little with those who lack everything. Factory workers donate money and a season's surplus production. Regiments of Red soldiers vote a month's pay and several days' rations. Workmen's organizations send gifts in kind. Singers and actors organize concerts and plays. Members of the Communist Party give up 25 per cent of their rations and pay. Even the children contribute to the relief fund. A few days ago I was present at a meeting of a school soviet where it was decided to donate a portion of the month's ration of cocoa and sugar.

Russian famine relief—collection, transportation, distribution of supplies, etc.—is in the hands of two commissions. The first, the so-called "small committee," is the Pan-Russian Soviet Commission. This commission, of which Kalinin is chairman, directs and controls all state and social organizations having to do with famine relief. The second or "coalition commission" (the "committee of 73") has been intrusted with famine propaganda at home and abroad. Its activity may be supervised by the first committee, the members of which are listed among the seventy-three members of the second. The second commission is responsible for the appeals sent to all social and economic groups and fractions throughout Russia. Among its members have been chosen the five, including Maxim Gorki and Alexandra Tolstoi, who were to go abroad.

Neither commission has been inactive. The organization of famine relief is already well under way. Three nation-wide bodies—the Party, the army, and the teaching force—were utilized from the first. Collecting and distributing centers were established in schools and Party headquarters. Teachers and Party members have been mobilized as relief agents. Communists and Red soldiers have been sent to sow the abandoned districts. The Moscow local of the Communist Party has just completed a survey of Moscow and the outlying districts to determine what homes can take in children from the famine area. Workmen's committees have been sent to the Volga region to arrange for the transport of workmen from the famine district to other provinces. During the month of July 78,000 workers emigrated from the cities of Kazan, Sembirsk, Saratov, and Samara. Every effort is being exerted to prevent the exodus of peasants. Where the children of the peasants cannot be cared for in state institutions the commission plans to send them temporarily into districts out of the famine area. Freed of the responsibility of his children, the relief problem of the peasant becomes simpler. The next step is to sow his ground and supply him with food.

The Soviet Government undertook the work of famine relief while realizing fully that the resources of Russia today in food and transport facilities would not permit the work to be carried very far. The ground cannot be sowed nor can the people be fed without very extensive foreign assistance.

As I came over the Russian border two days ago and saw the preparations that had been made to receive the American prisoners who have the reputation of being the "best-fed people in Russia," I could not help wishing that some of that same enthusiasm might reach out over the border and extend on into the stricken Volga district. And in reply to the universal question, *Now* will the Soviet Government go under, I could do no better than quote the words of a Russian friend as we stood in the Tverskaya the other day watching the crowd read the famine reports in the window of the Rosta office. "It took a foreign war and a foreign invasion to unite all Russia," he said. "Today we have another common enemy, the famine. Today we remember again that we are Russians and that twenty-five million Russians are facing death. That is all that matters."

There is more solidarity in Russia today than there has been since the signing of the Polish armistice.

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The Progress of Poetry: Spanish—I

By THOMAS WALSH

THERE has certainly been progress in Spanish poetry—great progress, greater in some ways than has occurred in other languages; for Spanish literature, long held back by a high dam of convention, has burst through its barrier with a force all the mightier for its long retention. Yet when we speak of progress we must question whether we are concerned with the outer expression or the inner content of modern writing. An intellectual literature of the self-conscious type of the old Spaniards cannot easily be eclipsed by the loose thinking and hazarding of modern systems, if such a thing as system in thought can properly be predicated of today. Therefore there may be some question as to the extent in which Spanish poetry shows any intellectual advancement beyond the past.

Real progress has been made in the scope, interpretation, and technical handling of poetry. The old rigidities of Spanish prosodies and rhetoric at last have been beaten down, and the result has shown itself already in an extraordinary flowering of song, fresh, spontaneous, and true, if not always completely original to the student of more advanced literatures. Spain has for so many generations been following the lead of France that it is no surprise to discover that today she represents in her ideals and poetical practices the standards of the Paris of the nineties, the doctrines of Parnassian and Symbolist. She has paid no attention whatever to English poets later than Byron and Scott; she ignores North America except to pay honor to Longfellow and adoration to Edgar Poe; yet gives a sort of respect to the Modernist Italian and German that is not always conducive to the health and uplift of her singing.

It has been customary to date the Modernist era in Spanish poetry from the publication in 1888 of Rubén Darío's book of prose and verse, "Azul," and to speak of Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera of Mexico, Julián del Casal of Cuba, and José Asunción Silva of Bogotá as the leading precursors of the movement. While by reason of the South American tendency to mellifluence and color the reforms of the modern French litterateurs found completer acceptance than in the more rigid Parnassus of the Peninsula, nevertheless it should be noted that the Spanish poets Gustavo Adolfo Becquer and Rosalía Castro de Murguía have equal claims to share in this "return to nature and the mystical attitude" which in his fine essays in "Camino de Perfección" (Paris, 1908) the Venezuelan writer Manuel Díaz Rodriquez proclaims as the most salient notes of the Modernist school.

In Becquer we find traces of the romanticism of the blue flower of the German poets; whether through inheritance or adoption, he brings to Spanish poetry a human tenderness it had never known before, as in his lines in They Closed Her Eyes, so ably translated by John Masefield:

> At the last stroke
> Of the ringing for the Souls,
> An old crone finished
> Her last prayers.
> She crossed the narrow nave,
> The doors moaned,
> The holy place
> Remained deserted.

And again in Rosalía Castro's poem The Quest, we find the marks of a mysticism entirely modern:

> I know not what I seek eternally,
> Upon the earth, in air, and in the heavens;
> I know not what I seek, but 'tis a thing
> That I have lost, I know not when nor where.
> Though in my senses well I feel it lives
> In all I touch and everything I see.
> O Happiness, I know not where to find thee,
> Upon the earth, in air, or in the heavens;
> Though well I know that really thou dost live,
> That thou art more than a mere promise vain!

In Spain, too, the mother country, Rubén Darío in the midst of his wanderings came to plant the banners of his philosophical and technical liberties, stirring the dust in the tombs of Juan Ruiz of Hita, Garcilaso de la Vega, and the mighty Góngora, routing the rhetorical followers of Quintana and the Duque de Rivas, and heartening a new and brilliant school of modern singers like Gabriel y Galán, another Wordsworth from the mountains of Salamanca; the brothers Serafín and Joaquín Alvárez Quintero,

> Who hail from the opulent region
> Where they barter and barter forever for seats in the shade and the sun,

and the brothers Manuel and Antonio Machado, the former with his exquisite sonnet on The Annunciation of Fra Angelico:

> The silver caroling of matins woke
> The angel artist from his couch to paint,
> And round him throng the rosy chorus quaint
> Of cherubs waiting on each brush's stroke.
> They guide his hand to set the snowy light
> On Mary's brow and tint her lovely cheeks,
> To show the eyes wherein her pureness speaks,
> To trace her slender fingers amber white.

A mystical canvas that makes an interesting contrast with his brother Antonio's poem The Breast of Dreams:

> From out the breast of dreams they called to me,
> It was a lovely voice, a voice belovéd.
> Tell me if thou art come to gaze upon my soul—
> A light caress fell then against my heart.
> Forever with thee, through my dream I walked
> Adown a long and lonely gallery,
> Sensing the rustle of her garments pure
> And the soft pressure of her loving hand.

There are also Francisco Villaespesa, with many exquisite sonnets; Emilio Carrere, the Austin Dobson of Modernist Madrid, and Juan Ramón Jiménez, a carver of rarely beautiful and melancholy figurines of song; and Fernando Maristany of Barcelona, whose original poems and translations reveal a true artist of international character. There remain to be mentioned the heroic personality Valle-Inclan, of Enrique de Mesa, author of El Silencio de la Cartuja and the lines:

> I who have suffered through such bitter years,
> In this fair morning that anew is dawning
> Pour on my heart the dew-fall of my tears.

There is Primitivo Sanjurjo, with his lofty Hymn to Aphrodite; Antonio Rey Soto; Santiago Montoto of Seville; Mauricio Bacarisse with his rather noisy cries of revolt.

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We must hasten across the great ocean to Mexico City and to the other capitals of the New World where the floriation of the poets has been of abundance extraordinary, even when compared with their luxuriant product of material riches. In Mexico we find that the ancient fatherland of the melancholy Alarcón and the high-spirited Sister Juana Inez de la Cruz is still the garden of some of the leading singers in modern Spanish. Salvador Díaz Mirón, lately returned to his country after years of exile in Cuba, may well be considered one of the formative influences in the revival led by Rubén Darío. Díaz Mirón has rather rashly, we think, disowned his earlier poems, but in the lines of his Snow-Flake, charmingly translated by Alice Stone Blackwell, we can find a characteristic touch of his genius:

To soothe my pain because thou canst not love me,
Gazing upon me with an angel's air,
Thou dost immerse thy fingers, cool and pallid
In the dark mane of my tempestuous hair.

There is also the cultivated genius of Balbino Dávalos and the rare poetry of the great Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, "the Duke Job" of Modernism, the poet whose inspirations vindicated the earliest reforms, the artist of the Renaissance in whom the old culture lived and wedded the new spirit of song. It is vain to attempt to present such a poet in a few words, but there come to mind some touching lines in the version of Jorge Godoy:

If the world's most lovely maiden
You should ever chance to see,
Do not think it is my sweetheart—
Dead! Dead! Dead! is poor Mimi!

There is also the fine poet Enrique González Martínez whose Throttle the Swan is already famous.

We have moreover the very delicate beauty of the poems of Maria Enriqueta Camarillo de Pereyra, whose delicacy is revealed in her Sad Song:

What a squalid alleyway
Is that old Santero Street!
There you hear but one bird's lay—
The grizzly owl's ill-omened bleat.
What cobbles 'neath its low eaves meet,
What hovels poor! All, all, they beat
My heart into the clay!
O stranger, go not, I entreat,
Go not through old Santero Street;
It is the squalid alleyway
Where lies the carpenter's retreat
That made my darling's coffin dray.

There are also Manuel José Othón and Efren Rebolledo and the remarkable poet Amado Nervo, author of many songs in which are mingled great pathos, mystery, philosophy, and power. In the initial lines of his Evocation we read his longing for the worlds beyond:

From out the mystery of the past I called her,
Where now a ghost among the ghosts is she,
A shade 'mid shades—and at my call she hastened,
Putting the centuries aside for me.

Residing for the present in New York is another famous Mexican, José Juan Tablada, famous as a critic and poet of unusual endowment. His best known poem is Pre-Raphaelitism.

Also to be mentioned in any survey are Jesus E. Valenzuela and Luis G. Urbina, poet of a lovely Song of the Nightingale and a well-known description of a Galician immigrant:

Poor Galleguito, frank and ruddy,
Off to America without study;
His movements suiting a bruin well;
His eyes with the glance of a calm gazelle.
His ways are rough but never cheap;
His speech, though gruff, to truth holds fast;
Like steel his chest is broad and deep;
His soul is of a crystal cast.
The stuff of saints—to fight he'll leap—
A tavern he'll keep
And make money aheap
And die rich at last!

In Central America and the West Indies we find a flourishing of poets extraordinary amid the traditional lassitude of the climate. Cuba alone presents a complete literature. José Maria Heredia, whose odes to Niagara and The Whirlwind we know through the superb versions of William Cullen Bryant; Placido, the mulatto; Avellaneda, the greatest woman in the Spanish Parnassus; Mendive, the friend of Longfellow; Antonio Sellen; and the inspired Diego Vicente Tejera, were succeeded by such fine singers as Lola Rodriquez de Tio and Julián del Casal, a brilliant son of French decadentism in Spanish who seems to make a personal confession in his poem Flowers:

My heart was as an alabaster vase;
In fragrant solitude was blossomed there
Beneath a pristine star's untroubled rays,
A lily white—my prayer.
Now withered lies the flower's bloom
Like some lorn virgin perished bloodlessly;
Today the petals of my heart assume
A purple rose bay—for my blasphemy.

A distinguished group of younger poets now flourishes in Cuba; among them José Manuel Poveda, Arturo Clavijo Tisseur, Luis Rodriquez Embril, Emilia Bernal, Miguel Galliano Cancio, F. Domingo Perez, Mariano Brull, a lyric poet of distinction, Gustavo Sanchez Galarraga, and Angél Lazaro.

In Santo Domingo also we find some progressive singers like Fabio Fiallo and Tulio M. Cestero, thoroughly imbued with love of their native island and its tropical beauties. The sons of Doña Salome Ureña de Henriquez, Max and Pedro, have done gallant service in the cause of poetry in company with their compatriots René Borgia and Manuel F. Cestero, now in New York.

In Puerto Rico we come upon the native place of Doña Lola Rodriquez de Tio, long prominent among the poets of Cuba; of Antonio Perez-Pierret, and Luis Muñoz Rivera, and his most modernist son Luis Muñoz Rivera del Marín and Virgilio Dávila.

Central America has produced some remarkable geniuses among these newer poets, such as the Hondurans R. Arevalo Martinez and A. Guillen Zelaya, with already famous lines:

Lord, I ask a garden in a quiet spot
Where there may be a brook with a good flow.
An humble little house covered with bell-flowers
And a woman and a son who shall resemble Thee.

From Nicaragua we have derived the most famous of all these Modernists, Rubén Darío, although his career led him to identify himself with various other Spanish-speaking countries as well as with Paris and North America. From Nicaragua also we derive the English-Spanish poet Salomón de la Selva, author of "Tropical Town," a collection of superior English Modernist poetry. The Isthmus of Panama provides us with two excellent poets of Modernist qualities, Raoul Román and Enrique Geenzier.

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In the Driftway

WHEN the Drifter was younger the fashionable springs of action were purely moral. The mode has changed. Nowadays everything goes back to economic motives. The Drifter has discovered, for instance, why big employers are beginning to campaign against bobbed locks. It is the secret hand of the human hair trust! In June, 1920, the hair interests imported 220,000 pounds of Chinese hair to pad the hideous humps that girls used to wear atop their heads and about their ears. But in this 1921 June of short tresses imports fell to 7,000 pounds. What wonder if the hair trust began a camouflaged campaign?

* * * * *

AND now that he has exposed the mean motives behind the employers who seek to confuse healthily bobbed hair with peekaboo waists and short skirts and overpink cheeks, the Drifter hopes that their campaign will end. Surely no one, even of the Drifter's own generation, will contend that the shape of a woman's head is inherently immoral. If there is anything immoral in all this hair business, surely it is in those abominable offenses against nature and art, the pompadour, the marcel wave, the ear-puffs, and all the other contortionate fashions which women have contrived to conceal an honest, lovely curve.

* * * * *

MRS. DOMENICO ZACCAHEA, who lives on East Nineteenth Street, the other side of First Avenue, has had nineteen children, of whom sixteen are still living, and has thereby won a prize from the New York *World* and a letter from President Harding. Domenico works in John Wanamaker's store, getting the munificent salary of twenty dollars a week, which, as Mr. Wanamaker generously writes to Mr. Harding, is two dollars a week more than other porters get. Mr. Wanamaker tells Mr. Harding that he will look for a job for Domenico's eldest son. Whereupon the newspapers in which Mr. Wanamaker advertises write editorials extolling the Zaccaheas. The Drifter suspects that Mrs. Zaccahea, despite her life of sacrifice, is guilty of disservice to society. His experience has not convinced him that children of large families are better than of small; nor that the world's need is of families of sixteen.

* * * * *

IT'S a long time that the Drifter has been watching for signs of a reaction from the great American game of making the other fellow be as good as you are. Little did he expect to see the dawn breaking in the *Army and Navy Journal*. But here is what he finds there:

"There is a little annoying local order here," writes an army captain, "which is, I fear, creeping in at other posts also. That is, compulsory church attendance. As far as I am concerned, it is not a matter of religion but of principle, for in common with most Americans I don't object to going to church, but detest being ordered to go. We were supposed to have liberty in that direction at least, but even that is going the long, long trail. Can something be done to save us from the misguided enthusiasm of those who seek to enforce their convictions on the rest of us?"

Amen, says the Drifter. He guesses that the captain has his opinion of the Volstead actors and the 2.75 percenters, but the Drifter thirsts to know whether the captain ever considered the hundred percenters.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Cardinal Bourne's Interview

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Cardinal Bourne's Irish views have been debated in your columns by Mr. P. D. Murphy and Mr. Shane Leslie. Mr. Murphy suggests that the Cardinal's interview on the Irish question, given to a correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, was dictated by instructions which he had received from Rome. I am sure that Mr. Murphy will be glad to know that his information is incorrect. I happen to be the person who suggested the interview to His Eminence, and I was present when he gave it. I was in London at the time, closing my work in connection with the German and Austrian Mission question—an evil legacy from the Paris Conference of (so-called) Peace. I naturally had many interviews with the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, during which all sorts of things were discussed. I confess I was rather surprised, and not a little gratified, to learn that the Cardinal did not hold the usual "Tory" views on Irish aspirations. There was no particular reason why he should try to impress me to the extent of changing his opinions to suit those of his visitor. I was not airing my own opinions except on the subject of my mission. I was officially interested only in securing justice for the expelled and threatened missionaries of German birth. His Eminence spoke with the utmost frankness and with the greatest sympathy for Ireland. He was not a republican but he surely was "the next best thing."

When I was in Rome later on I received a copy of his Pastoral. I regretted the misunderstandings that I felt sure would follow its publication, and especially the fact that his own words were few and open to misconception. Being polite, as well as an ecclesiastic, I did not, however, venture to express my thoughts to His Eminence. Besides, it was officially none of my business. But I had come to the point of thinking of the Cardinal with more than ordinary respect, and I appreciated the difficulties of his position. My own mission but added to his burdens.

I had to return to England from Rome to finish my work. There I met some of the Cardinal's Irish flock, prominent men of London, who loved Ireland; and others not of his flock, Englishmen who wanted justice for Ireland. They asked me if I knew the true state of the Cardinal's mind on the Irish question. I told them frankly what I knew. They lamented the misunderstandings which seemed to place so eminent a dignitary before the Irish people as their enemy. "Why did he not explain?" I did not know. They asked me to suggest to him an interview giving his true opinions and not those of Manning—which had formed the basis of the Pastoral.

Now, I had one engagement to fill before I left London. It was at St. Bede's College in Manchester. I had declined an invitation from His Eminence to visit his country home, in order that I might go to Manchester. Three days before the Manchester date my London Irish friends asked me to help Ireland's cause by seeing the Cardinal about an interview. I canceled the Manchester trip, and telephoned His Eminence that I was going down to Hare Street House where he was. He instructed one of his secretaries to take me there in his own car.

When I arrived I told him the real object of my visit. I spoke of the misunderstandings. I suggested that he could help Ireland by a clear statement of the views he had already expressed to me. He was very much surprised that there should have been any misunderstandings; but at once agreed to carry out my suggestion, and the interview was the result. The Chicago *Tribune* was favored because—well, I am a Chicagoan, and I knew the efficient correspondent of the *Tribune* in London.

There is the history of that interview. Rome had nothing to do with suggesting it. The idea that it should be published was mine; but the sentiments expressed are Cardinal Bourne's as he had already expressed them to me more than once even before his Pastoral was published. He did not discuss the pro and con

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of the matter at all. He did not debate the policy of it. He simply saw that he was misunderstood, and he took the direct and manly way of telling the world what he thought. Remembering with gratitude the assistance he gave me in saving about 150 German nuns from expulsion, as well as his sympathetic and Christian attitude on the whole Mission question, I am glad to tell the facts about the interview.

Chicago, July 20 (Right Rev.) FRANCIS C. KELLEY.

On With the Dance!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Congratulations to Mr. Smythe for his able article on Methodism's Blue Laws in the August 10 issue of *The Nation!* Also accept the sincere thanks of the amusement profession for publishing so timely a contribution. Your readers may also be interested in the inclosed resolution, unanimously adopted on the 8th inst., by the International Association, Masters of Dancing, at their twenty-eighth annual convention, held here in New York. Keep up the good work!

New York, August 17 LOUIS H. CHALIF

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, "A dancing master who wanted to come into the Methodist Church and who professed no penitence and no resolution to quit the profession, could not break into the church"—according to the *Central Christian Advocate*—"official organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and

WHEREAS, Joseph H. Berry, of Philadelphia, senior bishop of the Methodist Church later last winter said: "No dancing master or actor could get into the Methodist Church without very sincere repentance. Dancing and theater-going are specifically prohibited to members. Inasmuch as we prohibit these iniquities we could hardly be expected to admit to membership those who are responsible for their promotion"; and

WHEREAS, This unchristian stand has not yet been officially repudiated by any spokesman for Methodism; therefore be it

Resolved, The International Association, Masters of Dancing, publicly expresses its regret that such a pharisaic spirit permeates any so-called Christian denomination.

This organization thanks the Actors' Equity Association for their denunciations of this Methodist ban on the amusement profession and appreciates their resolutions of sympathy for the dancing teachers.

This Society also extends its best wishes to J. Henry Smythe, Jr., a New York Methodist, for his efforts to get Methodism to give a square deal to the dancing teacher and actor.

The Judge's Heart

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Those of your readers who fail to notice the fine sarcasm in Samuel Danziger's letter, Eugene Debs and Henry Ford, will think it implies a change of heart on the part of the Federal judge involved. I cannot persuade myself to take the judge's words so seriously. The wording of the decision might have been different had the judge rendered the *Dearborn Independent* decision three days instead of three years after he rendered the Debs decision, but the decision would have been the same.

One cannot escape the conviction that had Mr. Ford been on trial instead of Mr. Debs and Mr. Debs's paper attacked instead of Mr. Ford's the judge's decision would have been the reverse of what it was in each instance. In the Debs case the issue of free speech was vitally involved. The power that could grant or withhold free speech did not reside in the judge, though he gave it voice. Had the judge rendered a decision favorable to Debs nothing further would have been heard of the case in the newspapers, but in all likelihood the judge would have been a social outcast from that day and every prospective judge would have considered him a sad example. In the *Dearborn Independent* case the power that can grant or withhold free speech was not interested at all; not enough even to give the unnecessary hint that here was an opportunity to give harmless lip service to the principle of free speech and free press.

While the above view seems to me the only one justified, yet I grant that the judge may have had a change of heart. He may well remember and long for the good old days when he breathed the pure, clean, and wholesome air that was so essential to association with Tom L. Johnson.

New York, September 1 H. W. NOREN

Annulling a Constitutional Convention

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: For many months during two years a constitutional convention in Massachusetts composed, it is safe to say, of as widely representative and as intelligent a body of men as has often served a like task, labored assiduously and brought forth a new constitution to replace that which, standing since the eighteenth century, had accumulated upward of sixty amendments. Now, Our Betters, five old men, a healthy majority of our supreme court of seven, calmly tell us that though this new frame of government was accepted at the polls almost unanimously they can thwart us. Thus with one last easy gesture the courts now usurp the power to declare our constitutions themselves to be unconstitutional; and they get away with it.

A question in vivid current slang may seriously be put here: "Where do they get that stuff?" Can it be from the consent of the governed?

The danger is that this decision over an unimportant affair (for it merely means that lawyers and others must fish through the original constitution and its amendments and re-amendments to find the fundamental law of the Commonwealth) will be pounced upon as a precedent and buttressed by sophistry and persuasion until other judges, pompous in their pride of power, and "kidded" by skilful lawyers to stand against the gusty passions of the mob, declare perhaps even our Bill of Rights to be unconstitutional.

Newton, Massachusetts, August 26 PRESCOTT WARREN

Up-to-Date Theological Training

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a letter from Mr. Morrison I. Swift of Boston in your issue of August 10 the statement is made that the present strike of American students against the church is "because the theological training of students is out of date." Such a statement is singularly out of keeping with the facts. The type of instruction given, for example, in the Harvard Divinity School and Andover Seminary, in the immediate vicinity of your correspondent, and in such institutions as Union Theological Seminary, Yale Divinity School, the Divinity School of Chicago University, and many other theological seminaries is modern and progressive in every sense. The school with which the writer is connected, Pacific School of Religion, furnishes courses in comparative religion, the Bible as affected by the most recent historical and literary criticism, theology as related to present-day philosophy, the most recent methods of religious education, and present social and industrial problems; and such studies have been introduced into all the leading theological institutions. It is such ill-founded statements as those of Mr. Swift which constitute one cause why more students do not enter the ministry.

Berkeley, California, August 22 JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM

Contributors to This Issue

HEBER BLANKENHORN, of the Bureau of Industrial Research, was an eye-witness of the events he describes.

WALTER PRICHARD EATON is the author of numerous books and a well-known contributor to the magazines.

IDA O'NEIL, formerly of the faculty of Western Reserve University, has just emerged from Russia.

THOMAS WALSH is a well-known critic and poet.

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Books

The Fall of the Angles and Saxons

Is America Safe for Democracy? By William McDougall. Scribner's Sons.

ACCORDING to the distinguished English psychologist now teaching at Harvard, the story of the optimist who, having fallen from the top of a high building was heard to remark, as he passed one of the lower stories, "I'm all right so far, at any rate," is a true parable of America speeding to its doom with an invincible cheerfulness. While our good angels, or our good Anglo-Saxons, are rapidly leaving us by the door of race suicide, a legion of foreign devils has entered into us, and is madly driving us into the abyss where we shall be choked. For to Professor McDougall the secret of history and of progress lies almost wholly in race, and we are rapidly adulterating and destroying our best race to make room for others. That there is something in his major premises is obvious. The difference between a fast trotting horse and a slow Percheron, and between both of them and a snake, is primarily one of breeding. No amount of education will train a horsefly to pull carts or a cowbird to give milk, or will overcome the inherited dipsomania of the mosquito or the homicidal taint in the blood of the tiger. And so we must admit, what our author is at much pains to prove, that in varieties of the human species differences of blood count for a good deal.

But his whole syllogism is weakened, if not completely invalidated, by the falsity of the minor premises assumed to prove it. Like many philosophers he works his theory far beyond what it will bear, when tested by the sober facts. The rise and fall of races, which he calls "the parabola of people," is, in his view, caused almost entirely by anthropological considerations. He greatly underestimates the economic factor, as in the classic example taken to prove his case, that of the fall of Rome. This, he thinks, has never been explained on any other ground than that of the dying out of the Roman blood; thereby showing that he does not know Professor Simkhovitch's convincing arguments that it was due to the exhaustion of the soil more than to any other one cause. Certainly similar economic causes, the mastery of coal and other natural resources, have had as much to do with the rise of America, England, and Germany to the position of world leadership as has their Nordic blood. Mr. McDougall thinks that England's superiority to France in conquering the world is due entirely to race. In all probability it is due far more to England's insular safety, allowing her to concentrate her powers on maritime supremacy, while France was exhausting herself by hard struggles on land.

Logically, our author reduces every quality of every nation to an innate racial aptitude. That the Nordic race is Protestant, scientific, and Romantic, the Mediterranean race Catholic, artistic, and Classic is, he thinks, on account of differences in genius. Though he does not say so, he finds it impossible to fit his theory to some awkward facts. When he wants to praise the Teutons for their intellectual curiosity and independence, they are Nordic; when he blames them for their docility and sheep-like suggestibility, they are Alpines. The Americans are Nordic introverts as shown by their high percentage of divorce; but extroverts of other races as shown by their high rate of homicide. If the English owe their empire to their Teutonic blood, why do other Teutonic nations like Germany, Scandinavia, and Holland make so poor a showing in this respect?

Worse even than the supplanting of the better races by the lesser breeds in America our author finds the machinery we have constructed for eliminating the intellectuals of all races and for multiplying the unintelligent. He proves to his own satisfaction that in two hundred years one thousand Harvard graduates of the present day will have only fifty living descendants, whereas one thousand feeble-minded persons now living will have a posterity of one hundred thousand. The general process is due to the social ladder erected by society, making ascent and descent in the social scale so easy that the people become stratified in social layers exactly corresponding to their intellectual capacity. Wealth, status, and character rise and fall together in exactly the same ratios. It may be so, but I think I have met millionaires not quite a thousand times as brilliant and strong of will as some men who were making only one thousandth part of their income. To prove his thesis Mr. McDougall must not only show that this process of elimination of the intellectual is taking place but that it is something new. For if, as seems almost certain, something like it has been going on for centuries or for millenniums, it cannot have the immediately fatal effect postulated.

In an appendix are exhibited some photographs singularly ill adapted to prove the eugenic thesis advanced. The first is of Lincoln, a man who arose from the lower class that our author thinks should be sterilized as far as possible. The second is his friend Tama Bulan, a Borneo chief, who is described as showing "high intelligence, humane feeling, firmness of character, and statesmanlike foresight," but who, nevertheless, sprang from the races who the author says should not be allowed to propagate their kind, at least in America, as freely as the Nordic race. The third is of a degraded African. The fourth picture shows Mr. McDougall's five children, as they appeared in 1914—perfect little darlings they are and a good argument that some intellectuals are taking their eugenic responsibilities seriously.

We may be rushing to our ruin but this book does not prove it. It is not so easy to stop the world moving as some people think.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Philosophizing About Labor

The Larger Socialism. By Bertram Benedict. The Macmillan Company.

The Labor Movement. By Frank Tannenbaum. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

MR. BENEDICT is troubled by the present low estate of the Socialist Party in America. He believes that its failure to engage the sympathies of any large proportion of citizens is due not so much to any flaw in its main program or to any difficulty in its situation as to defects in its philosophy and tactics. He begins with the assertion that socialism ought to become a broader and deeper movement, concerned not merely with securing for the worker the full product of his labor, but also with building a better culture on the basis of material welfare. "It must have an eye, for example, to the rights of the individual conscience, as against the custom of the herd; to the development of individual and collective mental independence and self-assertiveness; to the biological improvement of the race; to the Negro problem; above all, to the feminist movement. It must become the creation of the most exacting empirical, contemporaneous, and inductive thought, rather than of deductive and dogmatic dialectics based on thought-systems deriving from formulas wrought by past generations."

These are familiar criticisms, and many sympathetic observers of the socialist movement would be inclined to agree, especially with the last sentence. There are socialists, to be sure, who contend that the very weakness of the party is due to its revisionist tactics, to its preoccupation with local government, better traction systems, welfare legislation, free speech, feminism, and the Negro problem—activities which they say prevent it from giving its attention to the main business of economic revolution. But even those who would confine the activities of the party to strictly economic issues are coming to see that there has been too much dogmatism and too little scientific application to existing problems and situations.

The first contention to which this approach leads the author is indeed a fruitful one. Socialist philosophy has been so much

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impressed with the "inevitability" of the downfall of capitalism, and with the present inequitable distribution of wealth, that it has given inadequate attention to the problem of increasing production sufficiently so that if wealth were divided more evenly everyone would have a good life. Yet the restrictions and wastes of production which the profit system brings about are innumerable, and are constantly being pointed out by engineers and economists of more conservative schools. It is a pity that Mr. Benedict himself devotes only a few pages to a superficial discussion of this crucial matter. And his point would have been better supported if he had not fallen heir to an old statistical error. He takes the estimated national income for 1918—approximately $70,000,000,000—divides it by the population in order to find what the average individual income would have been if wealth had been evenly distributed, and comes out with $700 for every man, woman, and child. Such a simple process overlooks the fact that a large share of the national income is not distributed at all, but is used for replacement and new enterprises. If everyone had received his $700 in 1918, he would have had to rededicate a large share of it to saving and investment, or industry would have begun to run down.

It is odd that at this point Mr. Benedict did not continue with a discussion of the necessity of a revision of socialist plans for industrial control with a special eye to the introduction of productive efficiency. For if one argument more than another is the bulwark of the anti-socialist, it is that, under bureaucratic government ownership, efficiency deteriorates and incentive is lacking. Here is a very genuine problem, as the experience of Russia has proved. The school of socialists who have come the nearest to visualizing this difficulty and to pointing out ways of avoiding it are perhaps the National Guildsmen. Yet for the guild idea Mr. Benedict has but scanty sympathy. He points out the obvious danger that it might lead to the same kind of restriction that capitalist monopolies have produced, but he has preserved such an academic distance from the world of labor and industry that he apparently does not realize the immense possibilities of improved administration and incentive which can grow out of workers' participation in control when applied directly, in the shop and trade, rather than through a cumbersome political machine. The problem of administration is perhaps the largest problem before an industrial democracy, and it cannot be solved by phrases about government ownership. One of the outstanding tasks of a functioning socialist leadership would be to work out by scientific experiment and close analysis the relations of executive, technician, and rank and file in the industrial process. Mr. and Mrs. Webb's "Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain" and some of Mr. Cole's later writings show that the conception of a guild as a large political unit deciding technical questions by the ballot is exceedingly crude.

In general, Mr. Benedict's conception of the task of the Socialists is weakened by a lack of realistic understanding of social forces and events. To him a political party seems to derive its power from individual voters who have been individually persuaded that its program is correct. We must go forth and convert the voters, he seems to say, elect ourselves to office, and then proceed to recast the industrial system out of hand. The fact that the development of the industrial system goes on entirely aside from politics, that successful political parties themselves are supported, financed, and directed by various interested economic groups, and that political evolution lags behind industrial changes seems to have escaped him. If it had not, he would have granted a far larger importance to the organized labor movement, the organized farmers, and the consumers' cooperatives, both in his discussion of present tactics and in his vision of the future state. It is little less than absurd to think of the Socialist Party first electing a president and then deciding how much power it would grant to the unions—just as absurd as to think of the Republican Party electing Mr. Harding and then coming to terms with the United States Steel Corporation, the railroads, and the great banks. It is a curious evidence of the author's attitude in such matters that he does not even touch upon the Socialist Party's greatest weakness of all—its remoteness from the bulk of the trade-union movement.

There is much force in Mr. Benedict's criticism of the Marxian cast of thought—a strict adherence to an economic analysis which in spite of its fruitful contributions did not delimit the area of scientific economics for all time—in his criticism of the dilatoriness of the party in adopting an official position on the impending war with Germany, and of the inappropriate form of its protest. But these are minor faults beside the party's failure to base itself on organized sources of power and to make really pertinent analyses of the actual economic situation. If the Socialist Party had been alive to American realities it might have had enough influence to make itself respected in any decision it wished to take.

Mr. Tannenbaum's book exhibits a better sense of social realities. His view of the labor movement is similar in a number of respects to that of such a practical trade-unionist thinker as William Z. Foster. Unions arise, not out of economic theories, but out of the natural tendency of industrial workers, already and necessarily cooperating in production, to cooperate also in control of productive processes, in order to mitigate the insecurity which the present industrial order imposes upon them. In so far as they exercise that control—whether over wages, hours, working conditions, or more fundamental matters—they tend to stabilize the industrial complex by encroaching on the control of the business man. This activity is in itself the beginning of a revolutionary change in the industrial order. The change takes place day by day and year by year. It is not a sudden overthrow planned and organized for in advance, but an evolutionary process to which no certain limits can be set. In order to perpetuate capitalism, the employers need freedom for speculative activities, freedom to make large profits, freedom to direct labor in the interest of capital accumulation rather than in the interest of social production. But the unions tend to limit that freedom more and more; they cannot gain advantages for their members without doing so. In this sense the ordinary distinctions between "conservative" and "radical" unions become meaningless. All effective unions are both conservative and radical. The only large distinction Mr. Tannenbaum recognizes is that which Mr. J. M. Budish and the present writer drew in "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry"—the distinction between those unions which are unconscious of the direction in which they are tending, and those which are conscious of it and so are able to frame their policies more effectively.

As an exposition of this basic attitude "The Labor Movement" succeeds, and the task of making such an exposition was well worth doing. But the book suffers by an overbalance of broad generalization; the reader has a feeling that it could have been made far more effective had its texture been enriched by more intensive study of actual unions and situations, by the citation of more concrete examples. It was perhaps outside of Mr. Tannenbaum's intention to contribute anything more than an outline of an attitude, but a closer examination of the trade-union movement from this point of view would certainly have made possible much helpful criticism. What, for instance, is necessary in order that unions may become conscious of their tendency and of the situation in which they find themselves? Surely much more than the crude economic assumptions with which the so-called radical unions often begin. They need scientific studies of the industries in which they operate, accurate and detailed knowledge of economic processes, reaching out beyond production to distribution, credit, and finance. They need better engineering in their own administration, in the methods by which they approach their immediate objectives. Consciousness is only begun by a vague realization of purpose; it must be broadened and filled in by a wealth of related detail. Until the labor movement has more equipment of this sort, it cannot and will not be fitted to encroach much further on the control of the private business man.

If Mr. Tannenbaum had made a closer examination of the

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existing industrial complex, he probably would have altered considerably his own picture of the future state. The evolutionary process which is going on is not the substitution of economic groupings of workers for the undifferentiated political state, as he pictures it, so much as it is the substitution of the power of economic groupings of workers for the power of economic groupings of employers and capitalists. The state is already, and has been for a long time, essentially the servant of the most active and powerful economic classes, and the ruling bankers and industrial leaders have already attained to an organization of industry and to a social control which is not greatly dissimilar from that which Mr. Tannenbaum pictures the unions achieving in the future. The first task of anyone who expects to see the substitution of a new type of control for the present one is to examine the present one in detail; otherwise he is likely to overlook a number of functions or to misconceive the work of the industrial machine.

The conception, for instance, of a congress of representatives of industrial unions meeting to vote upon their respective requirements of materials for the next year is a crudely political translation of the process which would actually have to take place—something more in the nature of a continuously operating clearing house of requisitions and supplies, making its decisions not on the basis of ballots, but on the basis of facts ascertained by statisticians and technicians. There is little hope for the Great Society if an increasing number of its technical problems are to be added to the present burden of public debate; progress is rather to be looked for in the direction of solving more problems through scientific administration, and casting up for political decision only the broadest and most accurately formulated questions of policy.

In spite of these limitations, Mr. Tannenbaum has written a fruitful book, and his fundamental attitude is so necessary an approach to an understanding of the labor movement that it should be widely assimilated. His own record as a leader of the unemployed, whose unjust imprisonment served to open rather than close to him doors of usefulness, will add to the interest in, and, we hope, the circulation of his book.

It is impossible to close without commenting on the extraordinary impertinence of the "Publishers' Note," in which "G. H. P." has injected at the beginning of Mr. Tannenbaum's book a three-page summary of the "open-shop" employers' objections to trade unions, as if to remove from himself the odium of having brought out a work favorable to the labor movement. The objections are largely irrelevant to Mr. Tannenbaum's argument, and it would take another book to answer them. If publishers made a practice of grafting their own opinions upon the works of authors with whom they disagree this note would be unworthy of comment, but standing alone it is an amusing example of the insistence of the class struggle.

GEORGE SOULE

A Belated Romantic

Pan. By Knut Hamsun. Translated from the Norwegian by W. W. Worster. With an Introduction by Edwin Björkman. Alfred A. Knopf.

WE are all wounded souls. A romantic is one who attends to the wound rather than to the soul. He tells himself legends and creates sad and beautiful myths; he builds himself a refuge beyond, not within, his given experience. He denounces the world instead of trying to understand and reshape it. Perhaps he is right. Perhaps our wounds cannot be healed and the world is incurable. The case for that point of view is strong enough. Only the mood of men has rather moved away from it and we feel more at home with either, let us say, Ibsen's dour but ultimately hopeful wrestling with the dragon or with the half-detached, half-melancholy but always self-governed smile of Anatole France.

To us, at all events, Knut Hamsun has always seemed a romantic born out of his due time. And he has seemed so despite the long passages of morbidly acute observation in many of his books. When Mr. Björkman says in his excellent introduction that Hamsun begins where Ibsen ended we cannot help feeling that he has woven perceptions of his own into Hamsun's text. "Pan" is as good a romantic document in essence as anything by Chateaubriand. "Summer nights and still water, and the woods endlessly still. No cry, no footsteps from the roads. My heart seemed full as with dark wine." Such lyricism is constant, and its burden is the old romantic one: nature as a refuge from man and his world, as pure and strong and a sanctuary. And there are legends, wonderfully wrought legends, to illustrate the tragic hopefulness of man and the fatality of love. "Once I got to know an old blind Lapp up in the hills . . ." "A girl sat captive in a stone tower. She loved a lord. Why? Ask the winds and the stars. . . ." That, surely, is the old romantic Märchenwald of Heine. Only the wind that blows through it is a little chill and has a bitterer savor than of old.

The fable of "Pan" does not change the impression derived from its method and general spirit. Lieutenant Glahn lives in a hut in the woods and hunts and fishes for his sustenance. Precisely why? What past experiences have driven him to this solitariness? We are not told. Or is it merely his temperament? It is not clear. He falls in love with the trader's daughter, Edwarda, a morbid flirt—slim, brown, not beautiful, Baudelairean. The arrow is in his flesh. He has a healthy love affair with Eva, the smith's daughter. It does not help him; it does not so much as touch him. The rest of the story is the story of that arrow and of the festering of that wound. We see him last in India, characteristically in flight from himself to exotic regions, characteristically seeking death to free him of his wound. He finds death. That is all. Is that really, as Mr. Björkman would have us believe, beginning where Ibsen ended and taking for granted Ibsen's momentous problem of the relationship between the individual and his own self? Has it not rather the fatalism of fairy tales as the romantics retold them? Once upon a time a man loved a lithe, brown, false maiden. She did not return his love and he wandered to the ends of the earth and died in a strange land.

In brief, we do not find Hamsun nourishing. He is not a purely objective artist whose scenes and people and events are self-sufficing and speak for him. He has something to say. And that something comes perilously near a rather vague though neurotically urgent cry: Back to nature! What shall we do with that cry today? For by nature Hamsun does not seem to mean some more natural and spontaneous mode of living. He means quite simply:

"God made the country and man made the town."

That seems child-like in this year of grace. And it seems hardly less so because Hamsun is a powerful temperament and an eminent artist. For his message is insistent. He will not let us forget it. "Growth of the Soil" is one long reiteration of it. These books seem beautiful and potent. But they urge us to reflect. And when we heed that urging they fade.

Essays of a Journalist

Tired Radicals and Other Papers. By Walter Weyl. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

IT is the misfortune of even the best of journalists that his work as well as his name is writ in water. His influence may endure by the impulse and direction he gives to men of his own generation who help to build the future; his writings are scarcely more permanent than the modern and perishable paper on which they are written. It is therefore a tribute to Mr. Weyl that his friends cared to make this collection of his essays in various periodicals and that many of them are so timely. It is even more of a tribute that some of them made enough impression when they first appeared to be recognized by the reader as old friends. Of how little similar writing can as much be said!

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The paper on Mr. Wilson entitled Prophet and Politician is perhaps the most likely to endure. One of the earliest of the many critical analyses of a man whose fate it was to be extravagantly loved and extravagantly hated, it has elements which give it permanent value for students of history who may be interested in Mr. Wilson's responsibility for the failure of Versailles. The other papers are informative, lucid, lightened now and then by humor. But they were written, very properly, not for tomorrow but today—some of them for yesterday. It is a pity the essays were not dated. One imagines one can trace a very decided growth in the writer with the march of events. The essays here published remind us anew of what a blow befell American journalism and American social thinking in the untimely death of Walter Weyl. N. T.

Drama

Gentle Realists

FOR a moment all seemed lost. Successive evenings brought two plays by the terrible William Le Baron. They were not funny. They were not even vulgar. They were quite nerveless drivel. Printed literature does not sink so low on a Bowery news-stand. Immediately thereafter came three plays—two comedies and one serious drama—that added hope and zest to one's contemplation of the American theater. All three, it may be added at once, end badly because they end far too well. Toward the end of the second act or somewhere in the third there is a moral and intellectual and artistic break. The creative impulse snaps and greed and fear rush in—greed of money and fear of outraging the national gospel of the waxen smile. But what the critic's lantern seeks in all countries is an honest third act. No wonder that so far among us that search is vain.

In "Dulcy" (Frazee Theater) George S. Kaufman and Marc Conelly, inspired by certain creative hints from Franklin P. Adams, have drawn the full-length portrait of an inimitable fool. Dulcy never existed. But in thousands of women there is a Dulcy. She is gaily fatuous, breezily optimistic, immitigably rattle-pated, noisy, "glad," and busy. She is the personified romance of the slogan to go smiling through. Whatever she touches crumbles, and wherever she turns her empty blandness there is disaster. A satiric comedy that touched greatness might have been written had Dulcy been left smiling amid the universal wreckage she has caused. But the break came. Happy accident follows happy accident. Dulcy triumphs. Then why not be Dulcy? The force of the comic energy is deliberately wasted and the satiric intention hopelessly stultified. Yet the memory of Dulcy remains, of Dulcy as impersonated through two acts by Miss Lynn Fontanne with a broad yet delicate drollery of gesture and speech and wonderful inarticulate noises denoting the gusto with which she moves through her pink and empty world.

"Six Cylinder Love" (Sam H. Harris Theater) nowhere rises to the height of certain moments in "Dulcy." Mr. William Anthony McGuire's grasp of character is feeble. But his eye for contemporary manners is alert and keen. He deals with surfaces only, but his surfaces are solidly if roughly wrought. The common jest that salaried people mortgage their houses to buy motor-cars and then go to ruin living up to their new possession is here embodied in an action which, though often exaggerated to the point of burlesque, contains masses of shrewd, exact, and vivid observation. That observation saves the play from sinking to the ordinary comedy level. For the discipline of observation is our immediate aim. Let all our playwrights observe and our theater will be saved. The reviewers on the daily press failed to note that there are passages of dialogue in "Six Cylinder Love"—as when the two ruined men discuss the chances of jobs—which have the note of real speech overheard. This is the gift that Mr. McGuire must cherish. It may, with proper respect for it, lead him far. He also, to his credit, postpones the break almost to the last moment. If the play had only ended with the young husband's sad determination to fry his own ham! There follow five mushy minutes. The smile prevails.

"The Detour" (Astor Theater) is not only, in its quite modest way, an achievement. It is a symptom and symbol with a significance far surpassing itself and its author's personality. For during more than a quarter of a century Mr. Owen Davis has crackled and thundered on our stage. He began, literally, with the old type of Bowery melodrama. He changed his manners a little when he moved to Broadway. Never his method and his spirit. Today he writes a play of American country life in every word and gesture of which there is visible an earnest ambition after sobriety, veracity, artistic rectitude. It has been urged that the materials of the action are old. It is true. But the drama need not give us new situations so much as new relations, insights, angles of vision, approaches to a spiritual exhausting of old and important situations. We have seen the hard, land-hungry peasant before. We have seen his unhappy and oppressed wife before. And we have seen that wife embody her stifled yearnings in her daughter and rebel for the first time in her married life when the man wants also to crush the expansive forces in the daughter's life. What we have, however, not seen before is this: the daughter has no talent at all. She has simply followed her mother's lead. She has more of her father in her than of her mother. When the crash comes and she discovers that her painting is no better than a schoolgirl's she knows at once, despite her outraged surface vanity, that the pull of fundamental instincts has been strongest in her, that she, despite the example of her mother's fate, desires to marry the rude neighbor and fulfil the eternal destiny of her sex. What, furthermore, we have not seen in our native plays is one of those impassioned outbursts which express old sorrows and long endurances and shift the center of life. And such an outburst on the part of the farmer's wife ends Mr. Davis's second act. His third act sags. His intentions were admirable and the action itself is carried to an honest conclusion. But the tone changes. Mr. Davis lets his characters melt and flow from the firm contours he had given them. The farmer of the first two acts is a strong man, a mean man, an avaricious man. He has not wavered in his course during twenty years. In the last act he suddenly becomes a sentimentalist who has been quietly dreaming of his honeymoon in the fields. His wife is half-poetic, half acrid. She would have failed. But her resignation would have been desperate not rosy. What happens continues veracious but the attitude of the characters toward it sinks to the level of sentimental comedy. The play is adorned by one of Mr. Augustin Duncan's Dürer-like portraits of peasant life. Miss Effie Shannon and Miss Angela McCahill do their best. But Miss Shannon should have had more visionary passion and Miss McCahill more robustness. Nevertheless, the play and its production mark the first important event of the new season.

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International Relations Section

The Constitution of the Far Eastern Republic

ON April 27, 1921, the Constitutional Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic adopted a Constitution the text of which is printed below. The Assembly was made up of about 400 delegates, of whom more than half were peasants, 54 were from the old bourgeois parties, and the balance Communists. About 70 delegates from various parties were trade unionists.

Part I. General Regulations

1. The Far Eastern Republic is established as a democratic republic.

2. The Republic is governed strictly according to the laws given in this Constitution, equally obligatory without exception for all institutions, all officials, and the citizens of other countries coming upon the territory of the Republic.

3. The laws of the Republic can be annulled and changed only by laws enacted as fixed by the present Constitution.

4. Ignorance of the laws of the Republic cannot serve as a reason for their non-execution or non-observance or for transferring the responsibility for non-execution or non-observance.

5. The laws of the Republic must not conflict with the provisions of the present Constitution. . . .

Part II. The Territory of the Republic

7. All the territory of the former Russian Empire to the east of the Selenga River and of Lake Baikal to the Pacific Ocean, including therein the regions Pri-Baikal, Zai-Baikal, Amur, Maritime, Pri-Amur with the northern portion of Saghalien, is defined as the independent Far Eastern Republic. All the rights and obligations of the Russian Empire pass to the Republic not only under the statement of territories named but in addition relating to the treaties and agreements made with foreign nations by the established Russian Government relative to the territories and waters of China and other countries which border on the frontiers of the Republic.

8. The frontier between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.) and the Far Eastern Republic by mutual treaty is declared to be: the river Selenga whence it emerges from Mongolia to as far as the administrative boundary of the former districts of Selenga, Bargoosin, and Verkhne-Udinsk, the boundary of these districts as far as Lake Baikal, the middle of Lake Baikal, the old frontier between the regions of Yakoot, Zai-Baikal, and Amur as far as the watershed between the Kiran and Pesmoot rivers, and the watershed of these rivers as far as the shores of the Okhotsk Sea near Cape Medjelinda, thus including all the islands situated south of the parallel of the aforenamed cape.

Part III. The Citizens and Their Rights

Article I. Citizens

9. The recognized citizens of the Far Eastern Republic are:

(*a*) All Russian citizens born on the territory of the Republic within the boundaries fixed by the present Constitution.

(*b*) All Russian citizens who at the time of the declaration of the independence of the Republic (April 6, 1921) were living on its territory.

(*c*) Russian citizens arriving within the territory of the Republic after the declaration of independence as well as those who arrived in the Republic after the promulgation of the present law and who are not registered according to the prescribed order as citizens of the R. S. F. S. R.

(*d*) All Russian citizens who live within the territory of the line of demarcation of the Chinese Eastern railroad, and who have not declared during the six months since the publication of the present law that they were subjects of some other nation and who have not presented during that term documents proving their citizenship of such other nation.

(*e*) All foreign subjects who have passed under the control of the Republic according to the method established by law.

10. From the number of citizens of the Republic are excluded all the natives of the territory of the former Russian Empire who within six months from the publication of the present law have presented a written declaration with the accompanying documents to prove their citizenship in the R. S. F. S. R. or of some other independent nation which is formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

Article II. The Rights of Citizens

11. The equality of all citizens before the law is established independent of sex, occupation, nationality, religion, or affiliation with one or another political party. All the divisions of citizens into classes, all the privileges are annulled as well as civil and military titles and grades.

12. All citizens are responsible for their crimes and misdemeanors only before the court according to the laws of the Republic.

13. Full liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all citizens of the Republic. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is entirely independent of religion and no person within the limits of the Republic can be persecuted by any authority and limited in his rights on account of his religious convictions.

14. The church is separated from the state. Each citizen can profess any religion or none.

15. Only those acts by the civil authority which are worked out by the organs of competent civil authority according to the rules fixed by law have lawful power.

16. In the documents given by public institutions and officials to citizens no reference to their religion or whether they profess any religion shall be made.

17. The entire liberty of assembly, of the press, and of speech is guaranteed to all citizens. Punishments for crimes committed by writings or speeches can be imposed only by the court. Citizens are not held responsible for the free expression of their personal opinions.

18. The springing up and the existence of societies and unions (among whose number also can be religious societies) is declared to be free so long as they do not have any purpose punishable by the criminal laws of the Republic. (Note 1. The acquiring by societies and unions [among whose number can be religious societies] of juridicial rights is fixed by the general civil law. Note 2. The closing of a union or society can take place only after a decree of a court.)

19. Workers have the liberty of combinations which are not subject to any restriction on the part of the state.

20. The person, the home, and the correspondence of every citizen is inviolable.

21. No one can be punished without being tried, no one can be arrested, subjected to a search of home or person, or subjected to any restriction of liberty whatever without causes fixed by law and then entirely according to the specifications of the judicial authority which must be presented to the person arrested. (The only exception that can be made is when a culprit is taken in the act of committing a crime. One can arrest him then without legal papers but the charge of the judicial authority must be presented to him within 24 hours.)

22. Every prisoner as well as every citizen can demand the immediate statement of the charge against him or his release.

23. Entrance into a home without the consent of the householder is permitted only when a call for help comes from within the building, when there is some sort of accident, or according to instructions from the judicial authority. The only possible exception is when a person is arrested in the act of committing a crime.

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24. Censorship of mail, of telegraph, and of telephone is not permitted.

25. Every citizen has the right freely to chose his occupation, his residence, and has the right of unrestricted movement not only in the limits of the Republic but abroad, except in cases provided for by law.

26. Bodily punishments and the penalty of death are banned forever.

27. Prohibition of ownership and of disposal of any kind of property or of a business or of any product of industry as well as restriction of the right of possessing these can take place only through a judicial order and only for the public interest.

28. All the small groups of peoples of other races which are included in the enumeration of the Republic have the right of the larger body politic whose limits are fixed by law.

29. In the reports with public institutions and officials as well as for official correspondence and commercial books each citizen has the right to use his national language. A special law should specify the form and regulations which will define the use of the languages in the branches of the local government, the judiciary, and official reports.

30. Foreigners living within the territory of the Republic have the rights given to citizens of the Republic except in cases which are specified by the appropriate laws.

Part IV. The Authorities

Section I. The Central Authority

Article I. General Regulations

31. The supreme authority of government within the territory of the Republic belongs only to the people of the Far East.

32. The people achieve their supreme authority through the intermediary of the Popular Assembly and through the government selected by it.

Article II. The Popular Assembly

33. The Popular Assembly is selected by all the population of the Republic by means of a general vote, just, equal, and secret, by the proportional system of representation, for a term of two years, and is composed in the ratio of one deputy for each 15,000 citizens of the Republic.

34. The Popular Assembly has full legislative authority.

35. All citizens of the Republic without distinction as to sex, religion, or nationality who have reached the age of 18 years, who are in their right mind and are not restricted in their rights by the court have the rights of election, active and passive, in the Popular Assembly.

36. Persons in military service have the electoral right in the Popular Assembly the same as all citizens and vote at elections with all the population. The only exception which can be made is for armies which are at the front or on the march.

37. All soldiers or civilians who may be elected to membership in the Popular Assembly are relieved of the duty of service for the time that they are members of the Popular Assembly.

38. Sessions of the Popular Assembly shall convene February 1 and November 1 of each year. The length of the sessions depends on the Popular Assembly but they shall be suspended during the season for work in the fields. The Popular Assembly can be convened for extraordinary session on the initiative of the Government or by the demand of half of the members of the Popular Assembly.

39. The power of each session of the Popular Assembly ceases with the opening of a Popular Assembly with a new membership.

40. A newly elected Popular Assembly is opened by the president of the former Popular Assembly or by his assistant. Immediately upon the opening of the session it shall choose its officials from its personnel by means of a secret ballot. The first meeting is regarded as legitimate when not less than two-thirds of the total number of members are present and the other meetings when more than one-half are present.

41. No member of the Popular Assembly can be arrested or forced to submit to judicial investigations without the order of the Assembly itself, except when in the act of committing a crime. In the latter case the President must be informed not later than 24 hours after the arrest. The President can release the prisoner by his own authority but in the next meeting of the Popular Assembly he must submit his action for the approval or disapproval of the Assembly.

42. The Popular Assembly decides the following questions:

(*a*) The discussion and approval of laws relative to all questions of the social life of the state.

(*b*) The discussion and approval of all international treaties between the Republic and foreign governments.

(*c*) The adoption of the budget of national revenues and expenses and the examination of the accounts which go to make up that budget, the granting of supplemental appropriations, the adoption of taxes, customs, and duties, the discussion and approval of public bonds, the permission of issues, the approval of treaties of concessions except those which are delegated to the Government and the Council of Ministers.

(*d*) The adoption and alteration of the system of coinage and money as well as the system of measures and weights in the territory of the Republic.

(*e*) The adoption of the bases of organization for the armed forces of the Republic.

(*f*) The supreme supervision over the method of governing.

(*g*) The granting of amnesty.

(*h*) The declaration of war and the conclusion of peace, and

(*i*) The deciding of all other questions which the Popular Assembly considers as requiring consideration.

43. During an interval between sessions of the Popular Assembly, the Government has the authority to publish temporary laws in cases of emergency effective until the convening of the following session of the Public Assembly. Such temporary laws cannot change the Constitution of the Republic or suspend its action in full or in part and must include a reference to the present article. Laws published in this manner shall be examined and approved by the Assembly immediately upon the renewal of its sessions. The Popular Assembly can stop the action of such laws before their examination.

Article III. The Government

44. The Government of the Republic consists of seven members and is elected by the Assembly for the term of 2 years.

45. The election of the Government shall take place in a session of the Popular Assembly by secret ballot and shall be considered as accomplished when not less than two-thirds of all the members of the Popular Assembly are present at the meeting. Candidates balloted for are considered elected as members of the Government when they have received the votes of not less than half of all the members present during the meeting of the Assembly.

46. Election of the Government before the specified term can take place only when four of its members have retired from the Assembly.

47. Only citizens of the Republic who have an electoral right in the Assembly can be members of the Government.

48. The Government shall concern itself with:

(*a*) The nomination or dismissal of the President of the Council of Ministers and the Controller of the State; of Ministers and their assistants upon presentation by the President of the Council, as well as of other authorized agents whose nomination and dismissal depends upon the Government.

(*b*) The national representation of the Republic in its relations with foreign nations.

(*c*) The calling of the Popular Assembly for extraordinary sessions.

(*d*) The granting of amnesty.

(*e*) The publication of laws passed by the Popular Assembly.

(*f*) The issuance of temporary laws in the interval between sessions of the Popular Assembly according to Article 43 of the present law.

(*g*) The annulling of any acts of the Council of Ministers

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which may be considered by the Government to be contrary to the laws or the Constitution.

49. The Government acting with the Council of Ministers constitutes supreme executive authority in the territory of the Republic which is concerned with:

(*a*) The general government of the country and the direction of its external and internal policies.

(*b*) The organization of the military forces of the Republic.

(*c*) The preliminary decision on questions concerning the conclusion of peace and the defense of the territorial inviolability of the Republic.

(*d*) The accepting or giving of bonds, the granting of concessions, making financial agreements, or customs, commercial, or other financial treaties, subject to the review and revision of the Assembly, and

(*e*) The compiling of the preliminary estimate of revenues and expenses of the Republic.

50. The Government has the right to suspend the operation of laws enacted by the Popular Assembly in cases where they are considered contrary to the Constitution. A law suspended by the Government and returned to the Popular Assembly is considered adopted by the latter if more than two-thirds of the members present in the Assembly vote for it again. Such a law, enacted for a second time by the Assembly, cannot be suspended from operation by the Government.

51. All acts of the Government, as well as the temporary laws promulgated according to Article 43, are effective only when they are approved by the Council of Ministers or any one of the Ministers. The entire Council is responsible to the Popular Assembly for the acts of one or more of its members.

52. Members of the Government can be placed on trial by act of the Popular Assembly in case of treason to the state.

Article IV. The Council of Ministers

53. All the ministers comprise the membership of the Council of Ministers. The number of ministers and their duties are defined by special laws creating their positions.

54. The President of the Council of Ministers may take a portfolio or continue as Minister without portfolio.

55. The Controller of the State assists with the right of debate at all sessions of the Council of Ministers and of the Government.

56. Only citizens of the Republic who have the electoral right to the Popular Assembly can be Ministers.

57. The office of Minister is inconsistent with that of Member of the Government but it is consistent with the title of Member of the Popular Assembly.

58. All the Ministers have the right to present questions which concern their departments to the Popular Assembly.

59. All the ministers, collectively and individually, are responsible before the Popular Assembly for all acts, orders, and the conduct of the Council of Ministers in general as well as of each Minister individually; and for their approval of acts of the Government. Except for political responsibility, the Popular Assembly has the right, regardless of the general rule, to place the Ministers on trial for crimes committed in their official capacity.

60. In case the Popular Assembly expresses its opposition to the Council of Ministers the latter is required to resign.

61. The Ministers are required to answer all questions and all requests of the Popular Assembly.

Article V. Legislative Initiative

62. All citizens of the Republic have the right to initiate legislation if they have the electoral right to the Popular Assembly. This right is realized under conditions detailed in the following article.

63. A petition for the enactment of a law or of any other action must be signed by 1,000 citizens. A draft of the law or action proposed for enactment must be included with the petition.

64. The Council of Ministers, acting as such, has the right to introduce legislation. The same right belongs to the Government of the Republic.

65. The members of the Popular Assembly have the right to introduce legislation. A petition for the enactment of a law or of any other action must be signed by at least five members of the Popular Assembly and a draft of the law or other action proposed for enactment must be included with the petition.

[Section II deals with the provincial, district, city, commune, and village organs of authority.]

Section III. The Judiciary

94. The only tribunal existing within the territory of the Republic is the independent peoples' court.

95. The court is independent of other authorities and dispenses justice in the name of the people of the Republic.

96. The courts of justice are the protectors of the law in the Republic and their authority extends over all the territory and all the population of the Republic. The membership, the circle of jurisdiction, and the manner of procedure of the courts of justice are established by specific law.

97. Judges are elected from the ranks of those citizens who are able to fulfil all the conditions established by law, for a term defined by law, and they can be removed before its expiration only by conviction of crime.

98. Citizens of the Republic take part in the administration of justice as assessors who equally with the judges decide cases. The method and the basis for the citizens' participation in the administration of justice are fixed by a specific law.

99. In the administration of justice the judges are to be guided by the laws in force and by the dictates of their conscience.

100. Arguments, sentences, and decisions are to be made in public. Arguments behind closed doors can take place only in accordance with rulings of the court based on the law.

101. The organization of special courts as well as the matters within the jurisdiction of such tribunals shall be strictly defined by law.

102. The entering of an appeal is abolished. Only the cassation of sentences is permitted; the Agency for Cassation has the right to annul sentences if they are manifestly unjust.

Section IV. The People's Control

103. The People's Control is independent and subordinate only to the legislative authority.

104. Included in the personnel of the national People's Control are:

(*a*) The People's National Controller of the State and his two assistants, named by the Government.

(*b*) The College of the People's Controller.

(*c*) The Councilor of the People's Controller.

(*d*) The Central People's Control.

(*e*) The local civil institutions of the People's Control, and

(*f*) The military field institutions of the People's Control.

105. Included in the organization of the central College of the People's Controller are: the People's National Controller (who is the president of the college), his two assistants, and five members of the college, the latter elected: one by the Workers' Union of the Far East, three by the Peasants' Union, and one by the native populations of the Republic. The absolute power of the elected members is formally approved by legislative authority. (Note. Until all the peasants' organizations of the Far East are united, the peasant members of the Central College are elected by the peasant members of the Popular Assembly. . . .)

108. The People's National Controller shall assist with the right of debate at all meetings of the Ministry and Government.

109. The People's Control shall:

(*a*) Watch the legality and expediency of all actions of national institutions, of individuals, of public organizations, and of private undertakings within the people's sphere of economy. (Note. Public organizations and private undertakings are subject to revision by the People's Control if they receive aid or are financed or subsidized by the Government or if they act under

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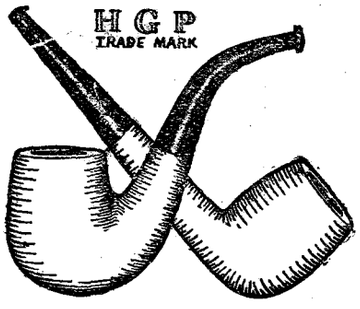

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orders of the Government or when there is a government guaranty, and only under these conditions.)

(*b*) Observe the impartial and unvarying execution of the laws and regulations in capital and of country and official orders issued concerning the people's economy.

(*c*) Verify the regularity of the distribution of the products of industry and of all supplies.

(*d*) Examine the different branches of the people's economy and publish the result of the examination to the legislative departments.

(*e*) Examine the budget, the proposals, the estimates of revenues and expenses, and publish its conclusions in regard to these lists to the legislative branches at the same time as the budget is presented to the Popular Assembly.

(*f*) Preserve the regularity of the voting of credits.

(*g*) Give an opinion on all manner of financial and economic plans and proposals of the disbursing institutions, as it gives its opinion on all plans and projects which are advanced by all the departments for the approval of legislative authority and which suggest new expenses for the treasury or any change in the financial and economic policy of the Republic.

(*h*) In extraordinary cases which threaten to cause a manifest loss to the people, it can suspend the corresponding plans of the disbursing institutions.

(*i*) Prepare an account of the public property and make an annual report on its standing and circulation for presentation to the legislative institution at the times established for presentation of the budget.

(*j*) Maintain the closest scrutiny on the activity of all the departments, of their local branches, and in general on all the organs of authority.

(*k*) Bring officials to trial for administrative crimes and neglect of duty, as well as private individuals for crimes which cause loss to the public treasury, and announce the dismissal of such officials to the organs of the corresponding authority.

110. For the achievement of the tasks outlined, the great bulk of the population is invited to participate with the Control in its unending work and in its acts of special revision.

111. A bureau of complaints is established in each institution of the People's Control to receive complaints and charges against irregular acts, abuses, and shortcomings of officials of all departments. . . .

[Section V provides complete autonomy, subject to the laws of the state, for the Buriats, the Mongols, and other national minorities within the Republic.]

Part V. Fundamentals of the National Economic Organization

Section I. The Land

126. All ownership of land, subsoil wealth, forests, waters, and their riches within the limits of the Republic is annulled for all time.

127. All the land, regardless of previous use or ownership, is declared to be the property of the toilers. The land is occupied without any payment to the former proprietors and is held as public domain.

128. The manner of exploiting the land, its underground depths, the forests and waters and their riches is provided for in a specific law.

129. The setting aside of lands which are important to the rural economy for development by workers is made according to regulations established by the territorial organs of provincial autonomies, conforming to conditions of climate and soil.

130. Personal labor is the broad source and the foundation of the right to exploit land. Exceptions to this rule are permitted only in cases provided for by specific land laws. The right of exploitation cannot depend upon religion, nationality, or sex.

131. The manner of exploitation can be collective, by groups or individuals, according to the wishes of the population. . . .

Section II. Labor

132. Having for its end the organization of the national economy and the equal distribution of burdens for its reconstruction, the Republic considers work to be the obligation of every citizen of the Republic.

133. The length of working time for each worker must not be greater than 8 hours by day or 6 hours by night, having each week a rest of 42 consecutive hours.

134. For individuals who have not reached the age of 18 years or for whom the work is too heavy and injurious to the health, the length of the working day shall not be more than 6 hours.

135. Overtime work shall be permitted only in exceptional cases and upon the consent of the Professional Union and the local departments of labor.

136. In the tasks of rural economy, considering its peculiarities, overtime work is permitted and shall be paid for.

137. The valuation of the products of a peasant's labor, who cultivates the land by his individual effort, is established by legislative order according to the representation of the Peasants' Union, counting 8 hours as a working day and including therein his necessary expenditures.

138. Overtime work which is especially difficult or injurious to the health is absolutely forbidden for all persons of either sex who have not reached the age of 18 years; night work is absolutely forbidden for males who have not reached the age of 18 years and for all females.

139. Women are relieved from work during 8 weeks before childbirth and during 8 weeks after childbirth when they are engaged in physical labor. If they are not engaged in physical labor they are relieved for 6 weeks before childbirth and for 6 weeks after childbirth.

140. Employment of children who have not reached the age of 16 years is forbidden.

141. For the purpose of assuring the normal living minimum to workers, according to the workers' presentation through the central professional organs, the Republic by legislative act fixes the wage minimum obligatory for all enterprises in the state, public or private.

142. Workers through their professional and industrial unions are guaranteed the rights of participation, with the right of debate and vote, in all the economic organs of the state, in the administration of state enterprises as well as in the state control of private enterprises.

143. The Republic guarantees the greatest protection to workers through enacting appropriate laws. . . .

144. Social insurance is established with the fullest participation of the workers, to care for all classes of occupational risks for everybody employed to work in undertakings and institutions in the state, public and private. Payment is imposed entirely on the employers without any deduction from the salaries of those who are insured.

145. Laborers and employees who have worked one year receive one month's vacation and those who have worked six months receive two weeks' vacation, their salaries continuing.

Section III. The Economic Financial System

Article I. General Regulations

146. The system of private property is preserved. The integrity of all goods, movable and immovable, is guaranteed to all citizens and private societies under the restrictions provided for by the Constitution.

147. The reservation to individuals and private societies of the right temporarily to exploit their holdings of land, of forest wealth, and of waters in the form of concessions shall be made in accordance with the terms of specific legislation and no type of concession may be for more than 36 years.

148. Concessionary rights can be granted to foreign individuals and organizations, but in cases of competition, all other conditions being equal, these privileges should be granted to citizens and organizations of the F. E. R. and the R. S. F. S. R. When private individuals and social institutions agree, all the

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other conditions being equal, the privilege is given to the social institutions. . . .

ARTICLE II. TAXES

149. No person shall be relieved of the obligation of paying taxes, except in cases provided for by law.

150. Except in the cases which are definitely excluded by the law, no collections for the profit of the nation or of the local autonomies shall be demanded of citizens in any other form than of taxes.

151. No taxes, direct or indirect, and no charges shall be proposed or levied on the territory of the Republic other than by the force of law.

152. The instituting of national taxes and charges is the prerogative of the legislative authority. . . .

153. Indirect taxes on food products in bulk are permitted only as a temporary measure and upon the basis and within the limits strictly defined by law. Indirect taxes on objects of luxury are permitted as a permanent measure which shall be reviewed each year in the legislative program.

ARTICLE III. STATE REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND THE NATIONAL BUDGET

154. The fundamental revenues of the state should consist of progressive taxes on income, the tax on business, on inheritances, on the unearned increment of articles of value, on gifts, etc., and other incomes from state undertakings and monopolies. (Note. The minimum income which is exempt from taxation, as well as the minimum of land and of personal property which is exempt from taxation, is fixed by law.)

155. State monopolies—commercial and productive—and the proportion of their interests accruing to the state are fixed by legislative order.

156. All national revenues and expenses are to be included in the national budget.

157. The national budget shall be presented to the Popular Assembly for its approval at least two months before the beginning of the period of estimates. (Note. Until the approval of the first budget the credits to cover national expenses shall be opened by the Government according to legislative order for each specific occasion.)

158. If the national budget is not approved at the beginning of the period of estimates, the Government, to supply the necessities of the nation, can avail itself of the credits of the previous year, but not for more than one-third of a year.

159. Not a single expenditure of national resources can be made without the establishment of credit or the promulgation of a specific law.

160. No pension, no award taken from the funds in the national treasury can be made except by law.

161. Credits granted in conformity with the national budget are distributed immediately to their destinations within the limits of the subdivision and cannot be used for any other purposes without special decree of the Government. . . .

PART VI. THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC

165. The armed populace is the sole defense of personal liberty. Consequently for the defense of the country, general military instruction on the principles of the militia system, is established for men from 18 to 45 years of age.

166. The general instruction shall be held in the unions of territorial troops. It shall be so regulated that citizens can continue their usual duties of productive social labor. (Note. The division of the Republic into territorial military districts as well as the plan of general instruction are established by law.)

167. For the continuous defense of the country the regular army is created—the People's Revolutionary Army. The army is organized on the basis of general recruiting for all citizens of the Republic and is composed of:

(*a*) Citizens who are called for their military service when they reach the age of 20 years for a period of 2 years, and

(*b*) Volunteers above the age of 18 years whose number is established in a legislative act.

168. Military service for native populations of the Republic is established by a special law.

169. The supreme authority directing the People's Revolutionary Army is the Government of the Republic.

170. The manner for the creation and organization of the People's Revolutionary Army is established in a legislative act.

171. In the interests of the defense of the Republic, the Government has the right to command and mobilize all, or a part, of the citizens capable of carrying arms. The mobilization of all, or a part, of the citizens capable of bearing arms can be made only by the legislative act.

172. The social insurance of citizens who are performing their military service, the manner of safeguarding their families, as well as the protection in society of citizens who have lost their aptitude for work while performing their military service, and of the families of those who have perished in defense of the Republic, are established by law.

173. Every citizen while performing his military service preserves all civil rights and carries out his civil obligations the same as all other citizens of the Republic.

PART VII. PUBLIC EDUCATION

174. The purpose of the Republic is to give to all citizens and especially the toiling masses thorough education.

175. The school is separated from the church. Religious teaching as well as religious worship is not permitted in state institutions or in public or private schools where other subjects are taught.

176. For children of school age the Government makes instruction compulsory and free, supplying them with food and clothes.

177. The instruction shall be uniform and conducted for boys and girls together in all the schools of the Republic.

178. Instruction and education in all the schools of the Republic should present a single system, consecutive in character, and based on the principles of industrial education.

179. All the peoples of the Republic have the right to carry on instruction in their national language.

PART VIII. THE COAT-OF-ARMS AND FLAG

180. The coat-of-arms of the state is established; its description is as follows: Upon a red shield is a wreath of pine, at the bottom of which is designed the dawn with the sun starting to appear and above a five-pointed emblazoned star in silver. In the middle of the wreath, across a sheaf of wheat, are an anchor and pick crossed; one blade of the pick points down. On the left side of the wreath on a red background is the Russian letter "D," on the right side, "V," and below, between the crossed branches of pine, "R."

181. The National flag is approved; its description is as follows: On a red field of which the length is one and a half times the width, in the upper corner half of the length and of the width is a blue square decorated with the letters "D. V. R." arranged in the form of a triangle.

PART IX. REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

182. A proposal to revise or add to the present Constitution, all or in part, can be initiated by: (*a*) One-third of all the members of the Popular Assembly who are present at its meetings; (*b*) the Provincial assembly of delegates; (*c*) the Government; (*d*) ten thousand citizens who have an electoral vote in the Popular Assembly.

183. Any change, addition, or annulment, in whole or in part, of the present Constitution can be made only according to law, and accepted by the Popular Assembly with two-thirds of all the members present at the meeting and by a vote of two-thirds of those present.

PART X. THE FIRST POPULAR ASSEMBLY AND THE GOVERNMENT

184. The method and time of elections to the first Popular Assembly and the Government are established by a special act of the Constitutional Assembly.

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